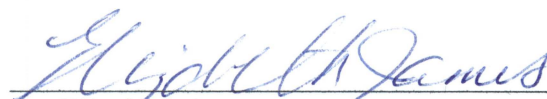



PANDERING TO GLORY:
SHELDON JACKSON'S PATH TO ALASKA

By

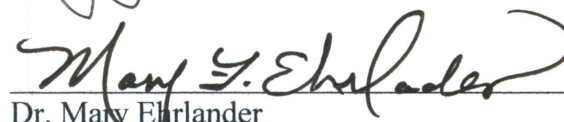
Jordan Craddick

RECOMMENDED:



Dr. Elizabeth James

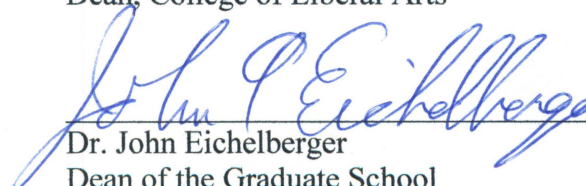

Dr. Mary Mangusso

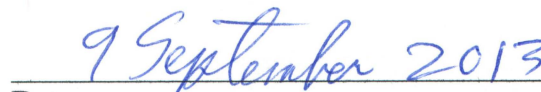

Dr. John Heaton, Advisory Committee Chair


Dr. Mary Ehrlander
Chair, Department of Northern Studies

APPROVED:


Mr. Todd Sherman
Dean, College of Liberal Arts


Dr. John Eichelberger
Dean of the Graduate School


Date

PANDERING TO GLORY:
SHELDON JACKSON'S PATH TO ALASKA

A
THESIS

Presented to the Faculty
of the University of Alaska Fairbanks

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Jordan Lee Craddick, B. A.

Fairbanks, Alaska

August, 2013

ABSTRACT

Presbyterian missionary Sheldon Jackson is a celebrated figure in Alaska history. He is known predominantly for his efforts facilitating the establishment of public schools for Alaska Native people during the late nineteenth century. Jackson's methods have been historically overlooked as being reform-minded initiatives characteristic of Indian assimilation. As a result, historians have concluded that Jackson was a humanitarian with benevolent intentions. Unfortunately, such assessments ignore Jackson's educational platform, which was built upon fictitious slander against indigenous people and the manipulation of Christian women. In addition to speaking tours, Jackson published many editorials, articles, and books alleging that Alaska Native people were barbarous monsters. The propaganda Jackson employed in Alaska was no different from the propaganda he used against Mormons and Native Americans. However, Jackson was maligned for his strategy in the continental United States, whereas in Alaska he was celebrated as a reformer and an authority figure due to ignorance about the northern territory. Alaska captured the public imagination, and Jackson lied about Alaska Native culture for the remainder of his career in order to maintain his Christian enterprise.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my wife Wendy whose support made this study possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Signature Page	i
Title Page	iii
Abstract	v
Dedication.....	vi
Table of Contents	vii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Jackson's Early Career.....	13
Chapter 3 In Prelude to Alaska	23
Chapter 4 A Northern Opportunity Revealed	45
Chapter 5 The Circumstances in Wrangell	55
Chapter 6 The Alaska Scheme	63
Chapter 7 Selling Alaska	73
Chapter 8 Pecuniary Motivations	87
Chapter 9 Women Organize and Propaganda Continues.....	97
Chapter 10 Political Motivations	115
Chapter 11 Conclusion.....	123
Bibliography.....	126
Appendix	133

INTRODUCTION

In 2009, Alaska celebrated its fiftieth year anniversary of statehood. To mark the occasion, *TIME* magazine released a list of the top ten Alaskans, ranking Presbyterian missionary Sheldon Jackson at number two.¹ Such a generous ranking owed to Jackson's role in "setting up free public schools for Native American, Eskimo and white children."² Popular articles of this nature provide important biographical summaries that reveal enduring legacy traits. As aptly demonstrated by *TIME* magazine, Jackson is commonly viewed as a humanitarian, though such an assessment is not without controversy. Jackson was an unabashed Christian zealot who viewed Native American cultures as barbarous and did his best to supplant them with a Christian archetype, hence the need for schools. Since Jackson's actions fit well within the late nineteenth century push for Indian assimilation, his motives have been shrouded in assimilation's morally defensible ideology that aimed to solve the perceived Indian problem. Thus, when Native Americans are concerned, Jackson's methodology for establishing Indian missions has been dismissed as nothing more than reform-minded tactics, in accordance with this period of United States history. With this moral shield, Jackson is commonly looked upon as either a paragon or, at the very least, a man with good intentions. However, careful analysis indicates that Jackson is not beyond reproach. The manner in which Jackson entered into Indian work and the means by which he gained funding, suggests that Jackson's Alaska

¹ Top 10 Alaskans: Sheldon Jackson.
http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1869388_1869390_1869415,00.html
(Accessed May 21, 2013).

² Ibid.

Native program was conceived primarily as a means of sustaining his Christian enterprise to the detriment of indigenous people.

A reassessment of Jackson's legacy in Alaska is needed due to the inadequacy of the secondary source material available on him. Much has been written about Jackson, particularly his exploits in Alaska, yet most sources are arguably hagiographic. From an historiographical perspective, it is not surprising that Jackson's career has been glorified. In life, Jackson was mindful of his legacy and did his best to shape it. For sake of history, Jackson saved over eight thousand pages of letters he had either written or received.³ He kept scrapbooks filled with thousands of clipped articles either written by him or about him. On Alaska alone, Jackson authored at least sixteen articles and one book. In 1896, Jackson's friend and boss, John Eaton, published a glowing article about Jackson and his heroic deeds in Alaska.⁴ The opening statement rejoiced that "The days of Christian heroism are not ended."⁵ Jackson furnished sources and provided interviews to his good friend Robert Laird Stewart, that he might complete Jackson's first memoir.⁶ Stewart concluded this uncritical memoir by stating that "Sheldon Jackson will be remembered and honored in all the days to come, as well as in this present time."⁷ Supremely confident in his accomplishments, Jackson went so far as to commission a bronze bust of

³ Sheldon Jackson to My Friends, 1904, Sheldon Jackson Papers, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Correspondence Transcripts, 1. [Hereafter cited as Transcripts].

⁴ John Eaton, "Sheldon Jackson, Alaska's Apostle and Pioneer," *The Review of Reviews: An International Magazine* 13 (June, 1896): 691-696.

⁵ Ibid, 691.

⁶ Robert Laird Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson, Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska* (New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 15. Some of the letters reproduced in this biography were not preserved for verification.

⁷ Ibid, 474.

himself and offered duplications to his peers at cost.⁸ By the end of his life, Jackson had done all he could to create a lasting legacy.

The legacy Jackson crafted has endured thanks, in part, to a number of authors who have looked upon his actions in Alaska as being the epitome of Christian benevolence. These celebratory accounts appeared over the last hundred years. In 1913, John T. Faris published *The Alaskan Pathfinder: The Story of Sheldon Jackson for Boys*.⁹ The book is a glorified retelling of Jackson's "peril's among the Indians" and his view of Alaska as a "new field to conquer."¹⁰ Winifred Hulbert wrote *The Bishop of All Beyond: Sheldon Jackson* in 1948 to acknowledge Jackson as "one of America's all-too-little-known great men of the growing West."¹¹ In 1960, J. Arthur Lazell released *Alaskan Apostle: The Life Story of Sheldon Jackson*.¹² The tagline for the book is indicative of its content and tone: "How the extraordinary career of one man – missionary, educator, explorer, statesman – changed the course of history on the untamed Arctic frontier." Continuing the trend, Elizabeth A. Tower rehashed a familiar list of Jackson accomplishments in a small booklet titled *Reading Religion Reindeer: Sheldon Jackson's Legacy to Alaska* in 1988.¹³ With the exception of Tower, none of the above listed authors resided in Alaska though all were Presbyterians. These sources also share a common link in that they present Jackson as a paragon worthy of emulation.

⁸ Sheldon Jackson to John G. Brady, April 9, 1901, Sheldon Jackson Papers, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Correspondence, 228. [Hereafter cited as Correspondence].

⁹ John T. Faris, *The Alaskan Pathfinder: The Story of Sheldon Jackson for Boys* (New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1913).

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 69, 83.

¹¹ Winifred Hulbert, *The Bishop of all Beyond: Sheldon Jackson* (Sitka, Sheldon Jackson Press, 1948), 3.

¹² J. Arthur Lazell, *Alaskan Apostle: The Life Story of Sheldon Jackson* (New York, Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1960), book cover.

¹³ Elizabeth A. Tower, *Reading Religion Reindeer: Sheldon Jackson's Legacy to Alaska* (Anchorage, Elizabeth A. Tower, 1988).

Within academia, Jackson's legacy has been subjected to varying degrees of critical analysis, but in almost all instances he has emerged unscathed. Historians Ted Hinckley and Norman Bender each wrote favorable biographies while focusing on different periods of Jackson's life. Hinckley researched Jackson's Alaska years and was undoubtedly his most prolific biographer. Jackson was a prominent fixture in a series of writings by Hinckley that included his dissertation, two books and at least seven articles. Hinckley portrayed Jackson as a reform-minded assimilationist, asserting that "Jackson, like so many Americans of the late 1870's, had been caught up in an enormous wave. This great current of sympathy sought to wash away in a few years the white man's errors of centuries."¹⁴ Hinckley believed Jackson cared deeply about Native Americans and was motivated by a desire to help them. He claimed "Jackson realized that while the black man had been freed, too many white men cared not one whit about the worsening fate of the redmen."¹⁵ Unfortunately, strict adherence to the image of Jackson as a humanitarian, clouded Hinckley's judgment.

Any survey of Hinckley's historical efforts reveals him to be a biased fan of Sheldon Jackson, which perhaps is not surprising, given the author's devout Presbyterian faith. Despite readily acknowledging that Jackson intended to eradicate Native American cultures, Hinckley wrote an entire article trying to convince readers that Jackson was a "preserver of Alaska's Native culture" because he turned Alaska Native art into a market

¹⁴ Ted C. Hinckley, *The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson* (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1961), 19.

¹⁵ Ted C. Hinckley, "Sheldon Jackson: Gilded Age Apostle," *Journal of the West* 23 (January, 1984): 21.

commodity.¹⁶ Hinckley downplayed Jackson's penchant for lies and hyperbole when speaking about indigenous degradation, instead countering "that on those occasions when objectivity was sought after, [Jackson's] statements display considerable restraint."¹⁷ Giving credence to Jackson's inaccurate depictions of Alaska Native culture, Hinckley praised his illustrations of Native life, stating they "still prove fascinating."¹⁸ The "fascinating" images acknowledged by Hinckley often conveyed antiquity and barbarity. In one instance a Yukon family is seen using a stereotypical teepee while another picture reveals a demonic crowd of Indians devouring a dog.¹⁹ During an Alaska Historical Society conference in 1982, Hinckley argued that Jackson deserved "consideration as Alaska's representative in Statuary Hall." He decried anthropologists and sociologists who criticized Jackson stating that "history is what occurred, not what we wish it had been or judgmentally believe it should have been."²⁰ Hinckley's promotion of Jackson even extended to an off-topic book review in which Jackson was touted as an "advocate of Native American rights."²¹

Unlike Hinckley, Norman Bender strived for balance in his account of Jackson, though he openly acknowledged a "sympathetic" perspective.²² True to his disclaimer,

¹⁶ Ted C. Hinckley, "Sheldon Jackson as Preserver of Alaska's Native Culture," *Pacific Historical Review* 33 (Nov., 1964): 411.

¹⁷ Ted C. Hinckley, *The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson*, 89.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁹ Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska, and Missions on the North Pacific Coast* (New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1880), 277, 291.

²⁰ Ted C. Hinckley, "Conflicting Priorities, Conflicting Opinions: Alaskan Development and Sheldon Jackson, Educator," *Education in Alaska's Past* (Valdez: Alaska Historical Society, 1982), 2, 3.

²¹ Ted C. Hinckley, "Review of *Breaking Trail: Hudson Stuck of Texas and Alaska*," *Western Historical Quarterly* 21 (Feb., 1990): 91.

²² This admission is made on the inside jacket cover of his book. Norman J. Bender, *Winning the West for Christ: Sheldon Jackson and Presbyterianism on the Rocky Mountain Frontier, 1869-1880* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

Bender frequently gave Jackson the benefit of the doubt, but he did incorporate alternate viewpoints. Bender presented Jackson as a spiritual crusader, concluding that his honest intentions warrant an honored stature. When viewed as a companion piece, Bender's biography reviewed Jackson's life up until 1880, whereas Hinckley only surveyed Jackson's Alaska years beginning in 1877. The lack of continuity between these two major works prohibits evaluation of Jackson's transition to Alaska. Bender outlined important precedents such as Jackson's fascination with the Pueblos as well as his frequent solicitation from women's auxiliaries, yet he never explained how such factors influenced Jackson's plan for Alaska. Meanwhile, Hinckley focused too intently on Jackson's Alaska agenda, rarely considering prior events that influenced his trip to the territory. As a result, neither historian adequately depicts Jackson's transition to Alaska, nor do they fully consider his motivations for doing so.

Prior to his years in Alaska, Jackson was known as an aggressive church builder. Historian Ferenc Morton Szasz explained Jackson's strategy stating that he "broke with the established Presbyterian tradition of waiting until an area was settled before trying to organize a church. Instead he often arrived on the first train, sought out a few Presbyterian families, established a church, and then moved on."²³ As a consequence "many of Jackson's churches collapsed shortly after founding."²⁴ However, success was determined by those that succeeded and continued aggression ensured that an undisclosed number eventually prospered. For this approach to be truly effective, Jackson needed a

²³Ferenc Morton Szasz. *The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska, 1988), 20.

²⁴ Ibid, 21.

large area in which to operate; thus he travelled throughout the American West. Jackson was aided by the expansion of railroads which gave him a quick means of transportation. By granting himself the title “Superintendent of Missions,” Jackson was able to travel on the railway free of charge.²⁵ Expanding Presbyterianism was an expensive proposition and according to Bender, “Jackson often turned to fund-raising devices that bypassed regular channels”²⁶ This process, as outlined by Alvin K. Bailey, included direct solicitations through “hundreds of addresses and sermons, writing thousands of letters and making countless calls on individuals.”²⁷ Despite Jackson’s unorthodox methods, Bailey claimed that “[p]eople everywhere rallied to Jackson’s support. He seemed to have a magical touch.”²⁸

While Jackson was busy planting churches he loosely affiliated himself with Indian missions during the 1870s. Hinckley claimed that Jackson’s efforts at the Laguna and Zuni Pueblos, as well as his work in Alaska, “brought him into the ranks” of assimilationist reformers.²⁹ Jackson operated during a period in United States history in which public sentiment in the East favored policy reform regarding Native Americans. According to historian Henry Fritz the federal government reviewed the “fallacies” of their old methods during the 1860s and surmised “that the only practical and humane answer to the Indian problem was to assimilate the Indians into Anglo-American

²⁵ After Jackson’s superiors complained about his unauthorized use of the title “Superintendent,” he responded by stating that his was saving them “from \$750 to \$1,000 a year in the way of passes” since railroad agencies provided “free passes” to Superintendents. Sheldon Jackson to Dear Brother, February 14, 1879, Transcripts, 94.

²⁶ Bender, 72.

²⁷ Alvin K. Bailey, “Sheldon Jackson, Planter of Churches,” *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 26 (September, 1948): 129.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Hinckley, Sheldon Jackson: Gilded Age Apostle, 22.

culture.”³⁰ Implementation of this particular strategy officially began with President Ulysses S. Grant’s Peace Policy in 1869. In 1865 the government made contracts with missionary societies to run Indian schools but Grant’s Peace Policy greatly expanded the involvement of religious institutions in implementing Indian policy.³¹ Historian Robert Keller Jr., outlined the new policy as it “placed Indian reservations under Church control” allowing them “to nominate federal agents for more than seventy Indian reservations.”³² Grant also appropriated financial support and created a “Church-related advisory board of commissioners” to implement policy.³³ Keller explained how the partnership between church and state was positively embraced by the American public throughout the nineteenth century.³⁴ Americans, at this time, viewed religious involvement in governmental affairs as being perfectly normal.

Jackson is hardly remembered for his modest involvement with Native Americans in the continental United States. Instead, the heart of his legacy rests on his work with Alaska Native people. Jackson wanted to replace Alaska Native culture with an American Christian culture through schools, but as indicated by historian Stephen Haycox “Jackson’s ideas were completely consistent with the policies of federal and private Indian reformers of the 1870s and 1880s.”³⁵ These policies amounted to educational assimilation, the idea that “Indian cultures were susceptible of change through education,

³⁰ Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890* (London, Oxford University Press, 1963), 18-19.

³¹ *Ibid*, 56.

³² Robert H. Keller, Jr., *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 1-2.

³³ *Ibid*, 2.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 3.

³⁵ Stephen Haycox “Sheldon Jackson and the Constitutionality of the Contract School System: A Chapter in the History of Federal Indian Policy,” *Education in Alaska’s Past* (Valdez: Alaska Historical Society, 1982), 32.

particularly education in the English language and in Western technologies.”³⁶ Haycox believed that without this historical context, “Jackson’s dedication to and contributions toward the preservation and legitimacy of native culture” might be misunderstood.³⁷ He concluded that Jackson should be appreciated for “his role as father of American effort in native education in Alaska.”³⁸ Hinckley shared Haycox’s desire for context stating that we “must at least attempt to see Alaska and the United States as they existed in the late nineteenth century.”³⁹ Through said context, Hinckley surmised that Jackson was “an aroused humanitarian” who was primarily concerned with the “protection and advancement of [Alaska’s] Native peoples.”⁴⁰

Historians, such as Hinckley and Haycox, have evaluated Jackson based on the end goals he strived to achieve. Interpretations of this nature do not account for the fact that Jackson’s educational platform was built on lies and propaganda that portrayed Native Americans as inferior beings. Racist views of Native Americans were not uncommon in the United States throughout the nineteenth century and Jackson took full advantage of this reality by deliberately portraying Alaska Native culture as being savagely cruel. Such mendacity procured a substantial amount of money for missions, but people were not donating for the sake of education alone; they wanted to rescue Native Americans from being idolatrous, sexually licentious, polygamous, murderous, slave-keeping, baby-murdering, whore-mongering, cannibalistic, unclean drunks. These are the

³⁶ Ibid, 28.

³⁷ Ibid, “Sheldon Jackson in Historical Perspective: Alaska Native Schools and Mission Contracts, 1885-1894,” *The Pacific Historian* 28 (Spring, 1984): 26.

³⁸ Ibid, 27.

³⁹ Hinckley, *Conflicting Priorities, Conflicting Opinions*, 4.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 12.

accusations Jackson used to fundraise and he never relented, in spite of the rapid Christianization that followed. Jackson's popular accounts of indigenous culture were far reaching and consequential. He was Alaska's federally appointed General Agent of Education and widely considered to be an expert on the territory. Drawn to romanticized visions of the last frontier, people believed Jackson's charges against Alaska Native culture. His popular accounts likely helped perpetuate the rampant racism in Alaska during the early twentieth century.⁴¹

Due to the social norms of his era, it not surprising that Jackson would uphold images of Indian inferiority and barbarity. However, Jackson was more than just complicit in this conceptualization; he deliberately catered to racist sentiments by making the criterion for evaluating Alaska Native culture far worse than it actually was. Historian Michael Coleman claimed that it was not racism, but rather, "near-absolute ethnocentrism" that dictated the Presbyterian worldview of Native Americans.⁴² He stated that "cultural intolerance of the most extreme kind was quite compatible with optimistic racial egalitarianism."⁴³ This evaluation explains how Jackson was able to use extreme rhetoric to effectively fundraise; the greater the barbarism, the greater the need for money to provide civilization. According to historian Frederick Hoxie, social theorists throughout the nineteenth century viewed Native American cultures as being stuck in an

⁴¹ For more information about racism in Alaska see, Terrence, Cole, "Jim Crow in Alaska: The Passage of the Equal Rights Act of 1945," *An Alaska Anthology: Interpreting the Past* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), 314-335. Stephen Haycox, "William Paul and the Alaska Voters' Literacy Act of 1925," *Interpreting Alaska's History: An Anthology* (Anchorage: Alaska Pacific University Press, 1989), 288-310.

⁴² Michael C. Coleman, *Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes toward American Indians, 1837-1893* (Jackson, University Press of Mississippi, 1985), 6.

⁴³ Ibid.

early stage of social development.⁴⁴ This theory not only justified conquest, but it also confirmed beliefs that Native Americans could be elevated to civilized stature through education.

To an indifferent Western audience, Jackson's defamation of indigenous culture appears utilitarian and inconsequential. The favored image of a man fighting for the benefit of indigenous people remains pervasive, and yet it is unfair to ask that Alaska Native people share this contrived vision. Within the last thirty years, a new school of thought has emerged in the form of a New Indian History Movement. Epitomized by scholars such as Richard White and Colin Calloway, this movement strives to write history that incorporates indigenous perspectives.⁴⁵ Adopting this approach for Jackson is challenging since his interactions with Alaska Native people were limited and what minimal correspondence exists is tempered by indoctrination. However, it is still possible to embrace historical pluralism by critically analyzing the reasons why Jackson chose to misrepresent Alaska Native culture instead of assuming benevolent intent on his part. Writers have expended considerable effort trying to recreate Jackson's worldview, but little effort has been made to consider how indigenes might interpret Jackson's legacy.

⁴⁴ Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 17.

⁴⁵ See Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1991) and Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 1997).

JACKSON'S EARLY CAREER

On May 18, 1834, in Minaville, New York, Delia Sheldon and Samuel Clinton Jackson gave birth to their first child, a boy they named Sheldon Jackson.⁴⁶ Following his parents' confirmation into the Presbyterian Church in 1837, Jackson was raised in a strictly Calvinist household and groomed to become a member of the clergy.⁴⁷ Jackson's close friend and biographer Robert Laird Stewart noted that as a young man Jackson idolized missionary "heroes" who devoted their lives to the conversion of pagan masses in faraway lands.⁴⁸ Hoping to follow in their footsteps after he graduated from the Princeton Theological Seminary, Jackson applied for a commission with the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Within the Presbyterian polity the Foreign Board was an administrative body tasked with expanding Presbyterianism into foreign countries. However, they were also responsible for Native American missions within the United States and its territories.

To his disappointment, Jackson's request for an overseas assignment was denied owing to a physician's report that he had a weak constitution.⁴⁹ Instead, Jackson was relegated to an Indian mission near Arkansas for the Choctaw nation, a position he did not favor.⁵⁰ Jackson complained of rarely having free time and of obstinate Choctaw boys who needed frequent corporal punishment.⁵¹ Less than two months after his employment began, Jackson planned to quit and on January 4, 1859, he tendered his resignation to the

⁴⁶ Stewart, 18.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 20.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 32.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 36.

⁵⁰ Walter Lowrie to Sheldon Jackson, February 12, 1858, Correspondence, n.p.

⁵¹ Sheldon Jackson to Dear Parents and Sister, November 10, 1858, Transcripts, 25.

Foreign Board.⁵² In wake of his early resignation, Jackson did not seek reassignment and instead turned to the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions for employment.⁵³ As the counterpart to the Foreign Board, the Home Board oversaw the expansion of Presbyterianism within the United States and its territories. This was primarily accomplished through church expansion. With this shift in priorities, thirteen years passed before Jackson involved himself with another Indian mission.

Prior to his graduation from Princeton, Jackson received summer employment from the American Systematic Beneficence Society in 1857.⁵⁴ One of the principal objectives of systematic beneficence was to endorse “proportionate and systematic” giving, based on scriptural economics.⁵⁵ The concept was very popular during Jackson’s school years. His job requirements saw him promote the American Systematic Beneficence Society and use its principles to fundraise. The experience taught Jackson how to solicit donations successfully, while also networking him with rich and influential benefactors. Based on his long successful career successfully soliciting money from women, it is likely that Jackson learned the benefits of targeting Presbyterian women married to wealthy men during his petitions. Jackson displayed a natural aptitude for the work. He conversed with seventy-five ministers and addressed fifty-three congregations “in the leading cities between New York and Leavenworth,” all within a three month

⁵² Mary Jackson to Dear Sister, December 9, 1858, Ibid, 30. Memoranda of Work at Spencer Academy, 1859, Ibid, 36. Also Stewart, 44-50.

⁵³ Prior to 1870 the Board of Home Missions was referred to as the Board of Domestic Missions, but for consistency only the former title is used throughout this study.

⁵⁴ M. W. Baldwin, May 18, 1857, Transcripts, 5.

⁵⁵ Robert G. Cather, *The Origin and Objects of the Systematic Beneficence Society* (London, James Nisbet & Co., 1862), 29.

span.⁵⁶ Jackson put these skills to use after beginning his tenure with the Home Board, albeit in controversial fashion.

In the fall of 1859 Jackson accepted a commission from the Home Board to serve as pastor for a region in Minnesota.⁵⁷ Jackson received a three hundred dollar salary to see to the spiritual needs of La Crescent, Hokah and the nearby “vicinity.”⁵⁸ While indicating that he understood the intent of the Home Board, Jackson chose to interpret “vicinity” as meaning any community he could reach; his subsequent jurisdiction allegedly covered an area of nearly thirteen thousand square miles.⁵⁹ Jackson’s meager salary would have hardly covered his assigned dominion let alone the expanse he claimed. Jackson needed additional funding, and a solution presented itself during a return trip to the East. While visiting family and friends, Jackson successfully called upon old connections to make donations. On an unknown date in December, 1860, Jackson logged an incoming donation into the newly inaugurated Raven Fund.⁶⁰ Conceived as a missionary slush fund, this account was created to house financial contributions that Jackson managed, absent regulatory oversight. He initially hoped to keep the Raven Fund a secret. When a friend inquired as to how Jackson was obtaining surplus funds, he was told “the Presbytery of Southern Minnesota had a private treasury of its own.”⁶¹

Details regarding the Raven Fund and how it was utilized did not emerge until after Jackson died and his account ledger made available. The fund ultimately served

⁵⁶ Sheldon Jackson to the American Beneficence Society, September 12, 1857, Transcripts, 6. Stewart, 33-34.

⁵⁷ Sheldon Jackson to Dear Parents and Sister, August 2, 1859, Ibid, 53.

⁵⁸ George Musgrave to Sheldon Jackson, September 5, 1859, Ibid, 57.

⁵⁹ Stewart, 54-55.

⁶⁰ The Raven Fund, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania .

⁶¹ Augustus Kemper paper on Sheldon Jackson, 1908, Presbyterian Historical Society.

many financial needs, though based on Stewart's assessment Jackson preferred to highlight its benevolent usage. Additional income allowed Jackson to grant his struggling constituents reprieve by providing them with supplementary funds or donated clothing.⁶² Such actions were particularly significant after the imposition of severe missionary cutbacks following the start of the Civil War in 1861. Arguably, the most important function of the Raven Fund was to provide the resources necessary for Jackson to expand across the region he claimed. In the late spring of 1864 Jackson relocated to Rochester, Minnesota, where he was offered an itinerant co-pastorship and a salary that would allow him to be "free from worldly cares and avocations."⁶³ That summer, Jackson used his Raven Fund to start construction on an eight thousand dollar church for his new town of residence.⁶⁴ Taking advantage of his part-time status Jackson travelled extensively throughout the territory continuing church expansion. In 1865, the Presbyterian polity met for their annual General Assembly to provide governance for the year. The Assembly authorized the creation of the Presbytery of Southern Minnesota, which was, in part, a testament to Jackson's successful burgeoning of churches. By the end of his tenure in Minnesota, Jackson claimed to have established or assisted in the establishment of twenty-three churches.⁶⁵

⁶² Stewart, 66-67. For an example see John A. Annin to Dear Madam, March 11, 1868, Transcripts, 383-384.

⁶³ Charles Hageman, et al to Sheldon Jackson, March 12, 1864, Transcripts, 157.

⁶⁴ Stewart, 77. Also, Joseph A. Leonard, History of Olmsted County Minnesota (Chicago, Goodspeed Historical Association, 1910), 212.

⁶⁵ Stewart, 91. A chronological listing of Presbyterian churches established indicated that Jackson only established five churches within the bounds of Minnesota. Unknown author, *A Memorial Booklet of Sheldon Jackson Presbytery in the State of Minnesota 1942-1977 Known Formerly as Winona Presbytery Founded in 1870*, 1976, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Unfortunately for the Home Board, Jackson's rapid church expansion was problematic, since he favored quantity over quality. Jackson established churches in Hokah, Rochester, and Houston with four members each, while in Kasson he inaugurated a Presbyterian Church with only three members.⁶⁶ Jackson's hasty tactics were consequential. The Presbyterian Church established by Jackson in Houston disbanded after three years, while the church he established in Eyota was discontinued after six years..⁶⁷ Based on similar patterns of church extension that Jackson employed throughout his career, his constituency was likely varied and dependent. Given time, these churches could become self-sustaining, but a nearly insolvent Home Board could not afford to overextend operations; rather, by 1868 they planned to limit expenditures by reducing salaries and suspending recruitment.⁶⁸ Stewart indicated that at least one of Jackson's colleagues understood the ramifications of unchecked expansion. An unnamed member of the Synod of St. Paul criticized Jackson for "multiplying churches while those already existent were languishing for lack of funds."⁶⁹ Paying for hasty church development was undoubtedly irritating for a cash-strapped Home Board, yet more concerning was Jackson's questionable financing. When they first learned of the Raven Fund is unknown, but in 1868 the Home Board publically condemned the practice of freelance fundraising

⁶⁶ Unknown author, *Presbyterian Church of Hokah Session Records*, Presbyterian Historical Society, n. p. Stewart 74-75. Unknown author, *History of Winona, Olmsted, and Dodge Counties together Biographical Matter, Statistics, Etc.* (Chicago, H. H. Hill and Company, Publishers, 1884), 887. Unknown author, *A Memorial Booklet of Sheldon Jackson Presbytery in the State of Minnesota 1942-1977 Known Formerly as Winona Presbytery Founded in 1870*, 1976, Minnesota Historical Society.

⁶⁷ Unknown author, *A Memorial Booklet of Sheldon Jackson Presbytery in the State of Minnesota 1942-1977 Known Formerly as Winona Presbytery Founded in 1870*, 1976, Minnesota Historical Society. Joseph Leonard, *History of Olmsted County Minnesota* (Chicago, Goodspeed Historical Association Publishers, 1910), 259.

⁶⁸ Sheldon Jackson to William M. Paxton, 1867, Transcripts, 364-366.

⁶⁹ Stewart, 82.

through a pointed article entitled “A Caution” written by Secretary George Musgrave.⁷⁰ Its purpose, as outlined by historian Norman Bender, was to denounce the “unjust” procurement and distribution of funds which “diminish[ed] the receipts of the Board.”⁷¹ Musgrave warned “[t]he disbursement of funds so collected might be perverted to selfish and ambitious purposes.”⁷²

Despite the public challenge from his superiors, Jackson had no intention of giving up his Raven Fund; the perks of alternate revenue proved too enticing. Free from conservative spending and bureaucratic restrictions, the Raven Fund allowed Jackson to operate as he saw fit. To maintain his independence from the Home Board, Jackson had to make frequent appeals for money, a task for which he proved readily capable. It is unclear what message he employed, but correspondence indicated that he targeted women with pleas of desperation and urgency. One response stated “Having seen several letters written by you respecting the trials and sacrifices of our Home Missionaries, I wish to contribute a widow’s mite, to the alleviation of their sufferings [sic].”⁷³ Another sympathetic donor sent one hundred twenty-five dollars after hearing “so many touching incidents of suffering among our Missionaries.”⁷⁴ As a further means of appealing to women, Jackson targeted children through letters sent to Sabbath schools. He pleaded to them using tales of spiritual neglect: “It was very sad to see so many children growing up without religious privileges.”⁷⁵ In another letter, Jackson informed children of hindrances

⁷⁰ Edward Savage to Sheldon Jackson, November 3, 1868, Transcripts, 458.

⁷¹ Bender, 13.

⁷² Ibid, 14.

⁷³ M. E. Jenkins to Sheldon Jackson, March 17, 1868, Transcripts, 389.

⁷⁴ Mrs. Graham to Sheldon Jackson, July 10, 1868, Ibid, 410.

⁷⁵ Sheldon Jackson to Dear Children, 1865, Ibid, 360.

to progress: “We are trying to wipe out our church debt of \$3000 ...; the effort will require great self-denial and much prayer.”⁷⁶ Based on donations revealed in letters he received, Jackson was highly successful in his solicitations, particularly with women.

Jackson’s alleged urgent need for money owed to a circular pattern of rapid church expansion which subsequently created hardships for missionaries who lacked sufficient support to maintain them. Using the Raven Fund, Jackson dispersed aid to needy Presbyterians, making him a hero to his constituents. However, the Raven Fund also allowed Jackson to continue rapid church expansion and thus the problem became cyclic. While effective, this particular strategy could not be sustained since Jackson’s jurisdiction was finite. To remedy this, he needed to move on to new fields of labor. Even prior to his reprimand from the Home Board, Jackson had already made plans to relocate to northern Iowa.⁷⁷ He gained the enthusiastic support of the Synod of Iowa, whose members unanimously passed a motion on October 3, 1868, to make Jackson a missionary for the state.⁷⁸ However, this appointment had to be approved by the Home Board and once the matter was brought before them Jackson’s appointment was denied. Undeterred, Jackson informed his Minnesota brethren of his intention to resign effective January 1, 1869.⁷⁹ Jackson claimed his decision was based on a desire to move into general work in the West. After his obligations officially concluded on January 28, Jackson wrote a letter to Musgrave requesting a broad commission to operate throughout

⁷⁶ Ibid, 1866, Ibid, 362.

⁷⁷ Stewart, 88-89.

⁷⁸ From the Minutes of the Synod of Iowa in session at Cedar Rapids, October 3, 1868, Correspondence, n.p.

⁷⁹ Stewart, 90.

the West.⁸⁰ Alarmed by the ambiguity of this request, Musgrave requested that Jackson be more “definite in communicating [his] views and wishes.”⁸¹ Regardless of how Musgrave responded, Jackson had already decided upon a course of action that would force the Home Board to grant him a vast new region in which to operate.

On April 29, 1869, Jackson attended a meeting of the Presbytery of Missouri River in Sioux City, Iowa.⁸² He emerged from this gathering as the appointed synodical missionary for Nebraska, western Iowa, Dakota, Montana, Utah, Wyoming and Colorado. His selection was unanimous.⁸³ This vast bestowment of land was granted due to Jackson’s willingness to work pro bono. Since no commission was necessary, the Home Board could do nothing to block the appointment. Jackson’s ability to work for free owed to his Raven Fund; between May 1, 1869 and December 31, 1870, Jackson “received from private sources for the work an aggregate of \$10,037.79.”⁸⁴ Jackson wasted no time shifting urgency to a new fundraising focus. Even prior to the Sioux City meeting, Jackson was already expounding on the neediness of territories he was not yet presiding over. A female supporter responded apologetically to his cry for help: “I received your letter describing the spiritual destitution of Northern and Western Iowa and Eastern Nebraska ... I regret to say I cannot now respond in a pecuniary way.”⁸⁵ In other instances Jackson was far more successful. A generous woman mailed him one hundred

⁸⁰ *Resolutions Unanimously Adopted by the Members of First Presbyterian Church of Rochester, Minnesota*, January 28, 1869, Transcripts, 526-527.

⁸¹ George Musgrave to Sheldon Jackson, April 23, 1869, Correspondence, n.p.

⁸² Sheldon Jackson, “A Story of Early Home Mission Work,” *The Assembly Herald* 10 (July, 1904): 415.

⁸³ Sheldon Jackson to F. V. Moore, November 18, 1897, n. p., Sheldon Jackson Papers 1869-1897, Montana Historical Society Library, Helena, Montana. [Hereafter cited as Papers]. D. S. Tappan & C. D. Robert to Sheldon Jackson, April 24, 1869, Correspondence, n.p.

⁸⁴ Stewart, 103. Also, Sheldon Jackson to F. V. Moore, November 18, 1897, Papers, n.p.

⁸⁵ Catherine P. Holden to Sheldon Jackson, April 28, 1869, Transcripts, 583.

fifty dollars, “the sum necessary for [support of] one Missionary.”⁸⁶ Another also pledged one hundred fifty dollars after Jackson gave her “new ideas of the hardship of Missionary life in the West.”⁸⁷ So confident was Jackson in his ability to procure donations, he recruited several missionaries for work in the West despite having no authority to offer commissions.⁸⁸ Jackson justified his bold actions with the rationale that he was working “independently of, but not in opposition to, the [Home Board].”⁸⁹ Jackson later alleged that his actions were necessary after the Home Board denied his request to work in the West.⁹⁰ However, the Board only denied Jackson’s attempt to serve as a missionary for Iowa; his request to work in the West went unanswered, pending clarification. Jackson wanted a larger field to operate in and his actions forced his superiors to grant him a larger jurisdiction.

On May 7, 1869, Jackson informed Musgrave of his success while proclaiming, “[t]he presbyteries will rejoice when the funds of the Board will enable them to commission me to this or kindred work.”⁹¹ Jackson made it clear he would be acting with or without Home Board consent by writing: “[I]f the Board cannot appoint me, I most earnestly desire that they would consider me just as loyal to them as if working under their commission.”⁹² Jackson closed with coercion by claiming that if his appointment were to be officially ratified, he would ably add five thousand dollars to the Home Board

⁸⁶ Mrs. Daniel Parish to Sheldon Jackson, April 24, 1869, Ibid, 582.

⁸⁷ Sarah Lord to Sheldon Jackson, May 4, 1869, Ibid, 585.

⁸⁸ Stewart, 96-97.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 96.

⁹⁰ Sheldon Jackson to F. V. Moore, November 18, 1897, Papers, n.p.

⁹¹ Stewart, 105.

⁹² Ibid.

treasury annually.⁹³ While delaying their decision, the Home Board acquiesced and offered Jackson a commission but with strings attached. If accepted, Jackson's appointment as district missionary would extend only to Nebraska, Colorado and Wyoming. The Board also warned him, under no uncertain terms, to "not engage in or countenance the raising and disbursing of missionary funds outside of the Board."⁹⁴ As a final demand, the Home Board required that Jackson adhere to protocol when establishing new missions; that is to say, he had to consider factors such as population, support and "the probability of their becoming self sustaining within a reasonable time."⁹⁵ To the discerning eye, this offer from the Home Board was essentially an indictment of Jackson's *modus operandi*. Regardless, he accepted these ultimatums while proceeding to ignore them. Jackson maintained his Raven Fund and operated within a jurisdiction similar to that which he achieved piecemeal.

⁹³ Ibid, 106.

⁹⁴ George Musgrave to Sheldon Jackson, July 7, 1869, Transcripts, 627.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

IN PRELUDE TO ALASKA

The roots of Jackson's journey to Alaska can be traced to 1870, following two important events that influenced the remainder of his career: Presbyterian reunification and the rise of women's missionary societies. After years of ideological tension, the Presbyterian Church split into two factions, Old School and New School in 1838.⁹⁶ Thirty-two years later, Old and New School adherents reunited for the 1870 General Assembly, marking the official end to the divide.⁹⁷ As part of the restructuring process, the Assembly authorized the creation of a second secretary position for the Home Board. Cyrus Dickson and Henry Kendall filled the two roles after Musgrave voluntarily stepped down from the position.⁹⁸ This was a fortuitous turn of events for Jackson. In place of the antagonistic relationship he formerly kept with Musgrave, Jackson now had a like-minded individual in Kendall, and over the course of their careers they built an intimate bond.⁹⁹ More importantly, Kendall proved to be a powerful ally who aided Jackson in his plans and help steer him from controversy. However, the reunification of the Presbyterian Church was not all positive for Jackson. In a move to "strengthen" the church, the unified Presbyterians initiated a drive to raise five million dollars in 1870.¹⁰⁰ The success of this campaign was reported by the 1871 General Assembly which acknowledged accumulated donations of over seven million six hundred thousand dollars, with receipts still

⁹⁶ Randall Balmer and John Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians* (Westport, Greenwood Press, 1993), 47-48.

⁹⁷ Unknown author, *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (New York, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1870), 18.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 101.

⁹⁹ The November 1876 issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* outlined Kendall's proactive interpretation of missionary duties.

¹⁰⁰ Unknown author, *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (New York, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1870), 19.

incoming.¹⁰¹ For Jackson this all but guaranteed frugality from his donor base for an indefinite period of time. He also noticed that the East benefitted most from the memorial fund, while the frontier was largely neglected.¹⁰² Jackson's money woes did not end here.

The social upheaval caused by the Civil War saw new duties thrust upon women's societies as well as an overall broadening of gender roles. According to historians Lois A. Boyd and R. Douglas Brackenridge, embracing new responsibilities gave women the administrative and technical knowledge necessary to organize into autonomous groups.¹⁰³ By focusing their support on women and children, they circumvented male resistance by engaging in gender appropriate work. Pertinent to Jackson was the formation of The New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona Missionary Association in 1868.¹⁰⁴ The president of this women's society was Julia M. Graham, and Jackson wasted no time beseeching her with donation requests.¹⁰⁵ Given their regional focus, Jackson likely anticipated this association's full support after he retired from Minnesota. However, once organized, women became more fickle in their spending. In 1870, The New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona Missionary Association expanded their operations and changed their name to The Ladies Board of Missions for the Presbyterian Church.¹⁰⁶ Operating out of New York, the Ladies Board began with oversight of forty-seven auxiliaries drawing nearly

¹⁰¹ Ibid, *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (New York, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1871), 518.

¹⁰² Sheldon Jackson to *New York Evangelist*, January 1, 1871, Transcripts, 1.

¹⁰³ Lois A. Boyd and R. Douglas Brackenridge, *Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of a Quest for Status* (Westport, Greenwood Press, 1983), 14. Also, Elizabeth Verdesi, *In But Still Out: Women in the Church* (Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1976), 46.

¹⁰⁴ Unknown author, "Historical Notes," *Home Mission Monthly* 2 (January, 1888): 53.

¹⁰⁵ Julia M. Graham to Sheldon Jackson, May 25, 1868, Transcripts, 398-399.

¹⁰⁶ Rev. A. B. Robinson, "New Mexico," *Presbyterian Home Missionary* 15 (September, 1886): 204.

eight thousand dollars their inaugural year.¹⁰⁷ In principal, the Ladies Board served as an auxiliary to both the Foreign Board and the Home Board. However, in practice, their expenditures heavily favored the exotic locales afforded by the Foreign Board where they had greater influence over proceedings.¹⁰⁸ Despite a preference for foreign work, the ladies remained involved with home missions, but their limited areas of interest meant those seeking their money would have little choice but to accommodate their agenda. Domestically, Presbyterian women were concerned with immigrants, the rise of Mormonism and, most notably, Indian missions.¹⁰⁹ Jackson conveniently developed a curiosity with Southwest tribes after the emergence of women's societies.

In his biography of Jackson, Bender acknowledged Jackson's limited interest in Indian missions. He wrote of how quickly Jackson became obsessed with several pueblos in New Mexico, despite granting only "peripheral interest" to Arizona tribes and ignoring the Sioux Indians in Montana and the Ute Indians in Colorado.¹¹⁰ Jackson's selective focus happened to mirror that of the Ladies Board as they sponsored missions "among the Indian tribes and Mexican population of Arizona and New Mexico."¹¹¹ Jackson first visited New Mexico in 1870, where he was tasked by the Home Board to survey the land for potential missions; he was warned by his superiors not to lead them into an "extravagant or unsuccessful outlay."¹¹² At the conclusion of his trip Jackson reported back the urgent need to expand operations in the territory only to learn that his superiors

¹⁰⁷ Stewart, 262.

¹⁰⁸ Boyd and Brackenridge, 22. Also, Verdesi, 57.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 15.

¹¹⁰ Bender, 168.

¹¹¹ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, February 1873.

¹¹² Henry Kendall to Sheldon Jackson, July 18, 1870, Transcripts, 893.

planned to abandon the field.¹¹³ Jackson turned to women for financing through a dramatic article in the *New York Evangelist*. He described Santa Fe as a “strange old city ... unassimilated, foreign and in some measure hostile to the genius of American institutions.”¹¹⁴ Jackson called for donations from Christian women to help “poor degraded, superstitious Mexican women” and “thousands of Mexican girls who have nothing before them but a life of ignorance and shame.”¹¹⁵ The *Santa Fe New Mexican* responded to Jackson’s allegations by denouncing him as a “hypocrite and [a] blackguard.”¹¹⁶ They also dismissed his article as “indecent” and claimed that it fell “but little short of obscenity.”¹¹⁷

Jackson would not return to New Mexico until autumn of 1872 when he made a trip to Fort Garland to converse with an influential female executive.¹¹⁸ During this visit Jackson decided to tour Taos Pueblo.¹¹⁹ He reported his experience to the *Herald and Presbyter*, indicating his fascination with the Pueblo Indians and their nominal conversion to Catholicism.¹²⁰ Jackson claimed “their Paganism was merely baptized” and that “according to tradition and Mexican belief, they still sometimes sacrifice children [upon an altar].”¹²¹ To tie his article to Home Missions, Jackson also invoked the degradation of Mexican women, whom he witnessed “dancing, smoking and drinking

¹¹³ Henry Kendall to Sheldon Jackson, September 22, 1870, Ibid, 919.

¹¹⁴ *Santa Fe New Mexican*, November 19, 1870.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, November 21, 1870.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Henry Kendall to Sheldon Jackson, September 7, 1872, Transcripts, 170. The executive was Cornelia Martin and Kendall informed Jackson that “she is quite a power in the lands and you would do well to cultivate her.”

¹¹⁹ Stewart, 222.

¹²⁰ Jackson’s article was republished in the secular *Western Reserve Chronicle*, but it is unclear if there was any public backlash as a result. *Western Reserve Chronicle*, December 18, 1872.

¹²¹ Ibid.

with American men” during the “most holy feast of St. Jerome.”¹²² Unlike his previous article on New Mexico, Jackson made no specific request for money, only stating that the Pueblos should “receive the gospel at the hands of the white men from the East.”¹²³ Jurisdiction of all Indian missions belonged to the Foreign Board of the Presbyterian Church by a decree of the General Assembly in 1837.¹²⁴ Additionally, the Foreign Board entered into an agreement for co-sponsorship with the federal government in 1869 to administer designated Indian reservations and establish schools.¹²⁵ Jackson was not inclined to fundraise for the Foreign Board, but he had no problem using his newfound fascination with New Mexico’s inhabitants as a means for opening a dialogue with the newly formed Ladies Board. In response to another bid for financial support from Jackson, Graham rejected the overture while acknowledging a shared regional interest: “[y]ou are quite aware that we look upon New Mexico as one of our fields of work.”¹²⁶

Graham’s interest was not indicative of anything more than limited Ladies Board support for home missions. Their apathy was exemplified by the struggles of Presbyterian missionary James Roberts, who was sent to Taos Pueblo in October of 1872 to establish an Indian mission for the Foreign Board.¹²⁷ After four months, Roberts and his wife abandoned Taos due to resistance from Catholic priests, choosing to instead establish a school for Mexicans in Santa Fe. The shift in priorities meant the Roberts would no

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Unknown author, *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (Philadelphia, The Stated Clerk Of The Assembly, 1837), 452-453.

¹²⁵ This was in conjunction with President Ulysses S. Grant’s Peace Policy.

¹²⁶ Julia M. Graham to Sheldon Jackson, July 8, 1872, Transcripts, 164.

¹²⁷ James M. Roberts to Sheldon Jackson, July 14, 1873, Ibid, p. 285-286. James M. Roberts to Sheldon Jackson, July 16, 1873, Ibid, 289-290. Also Robert M. Craig, *Our Mexicans* (New York, The Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1904), 62-63.

longer be supported by the Foreign Board or the federal government. To remedy the loss of sponsorship the Ladies Board promised to use their “influence” to seek a commission for him.¹²⁸ This gesture was really just a polite way of saying they did not want to pick up the tab, but they did provide three hundred-fifty dollars and a box of clothes which was meant to last for a year.¹²⁹ The Home Board chose not to re-commission James Roberts for home work and the Ladies Board provided no additional support.¹³⁰ With their school on the verge of closure, the Roberts pleaded with Jackson to intervene that he might “right the great wrong that has been done us through you.”¹³¹ For reasons unknown, the Roberts believed their abandonment was somehow Jackson’s fault. They intimated to Jackson “[o]ur enemies, we are told, used you to our hurt.”¹³² Such a vague accusation may have been a reference to the growing antagonism between Jackson and the Ladies Board over their inconsistent support.

When women began to organize into societies it proved to be both a blessing and a curse for Jackson. Rather than appeal to hundreds of separate auxiliaries piecemeal, Jackson could petition a governing body of women and reap the rewards of all respective auxiliaries underneath them. Achieving such a luxury would have been an imperative for Jackson as it would allow him to more easily finance his ecclesial dominion. However, societies gave women influence they lacked hitherto, and there was little impetus for female executives to adhere to male agendas conceived to their exclusion. Women preferred foreign mission sponsorship where they controlled how their money was spent

¹²⁸ Mrs. M. E. Roberts to Sheldon Jackson, July 2, 1874, Transcripts, 448.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Cornelia W. Martin to Sheldon Jackson, March 24, 1874, Ibid, 386.

¹³¹ Mrs. M. E. Roberts to Sheldon Jackson, July 2, 1874, Ibid, 448.

¹³² Ibid.

and had influence over operations. Of the many women's societies that emerged during the 1870s, the vast majority focused on foreign work exclusively, while some offered a dual approach. Like the Ladies Board, the Woman's Presbyterian Board of Missions of the Northwest was conceived as an auxiliary to both the Home and Foreign Boards, but their preference for foreign work eventually led them to abandon home missions entirely. Since the Ladies Board was one of the few societies to retain an interest in home work, there was considerable pressure on them to provide substantial support.

In wake of such exigency, Graham professed her society's commitment in a response to Jackson by reassuring him, "[w]e are also very anxious to increase our Home Mission work."¹³³ Her declaration of support notwithstanding, Graham did not want home mission demands to alter the arrangements made with the auxiliaries under her authority. Rather, she requested that Jackson "suggest some way to add to our auxiliary force ... and if there are any towns or places where you think societies can be formed, we will do our best."¹³⁴ Essentially, domestic support hinged on Jackson's ability to supplement the Ladies Board with auxiliaries committed to home missions. He did not look upon this suggestion favorably. Helping Graham's society add to their power base was the antithesis of what Jackson hoped to accomplish. He ultimately discouraged auxiliaries from joining the Ladies Board due to its preference for foreign work. Jackson repeatedly implored Graham to contribute more to causes he endorsed, but his talent for persuasion was wasted on her. After Secretary Cyrus Dickson accused the Ladies Board of doing little for home missions, Graham defended her society by claiming the Home

¹³³ Julia M. Graham to Dear Friend, June 10, 1873, *Ibid*, 274.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*.

Board consistently overlooked what help they did provide.¹³⁵ Frustrated, Graham informed Jackson “It is perhaps unfortunate for us that we did not turn our attention exclusively to foreign missions. If we had done so, we should have had much larger receipts to show.”¹³⁶

To obtain the elusive level of female support he desired, Jackson needed a society devoted exclusively to home missions, but achieving such an organization first required willing female agents. For Jackson, the process of making home missions appealing to women was long and arduous. In the spring of 1872 Jackson launched his own newspaper and named it *The Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*. Officially, the gazette was created to promote home missions and keep readers informed of missionary activity. However, a thorough evaluation of the paper would find that it was primarily a bully pulpit, allowing Jackson to institutionalize petitions for charity through dramatic editorials. In keeping with his overall strategy, Jackson’s newspaper was geared largely toward women. They were treated to such articles as “Woman’s Work for Missions” and “The Power of Woman in the Church.”¹³⁷ Jackson hoped to convince his female readers that the Home Board desperately needed their financial aid, and he did so through emotional imagery. Jackson claimed “[a] thousand wives of Missionaries are toiling harder, bearing heavier burdens and suffering from scantier supplies for themselves and their little ones, because we cannot obtain the means to give them the aid they need.”¹³⁸ Jackson’s call for aid was initially conciliatory to the Foreign Board; he qualified his message by stating “[b]oth

¹³⁵ Julia M. Graham to Sheldon Jackson, January 5, 1874, Ibid, 358.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, November 1872. *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, May 1873.

¹³⁸ Ibid., November 1872.

Home and foreign Missions need ... enlarged contributions.”¹³⁹ This olive branch would remain extended for less than a year. In “A Plea For Home Missions” Jackson called for prioritization: “True, the field is the world. Yet our first duty is to our own land. ... It is well known that our domestic missionaries are not as well supported as those who go abroad.”¹⁴⁰

Beneath an article pleading for aid to stave off Home Board debt, the November 1873 issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* announced progress for home mission support among women. Jackson declared “The ladies in various parts of the Church are forming themselves into societies to aid the Board of Home Missions.”¹⁴¹ What Jackson did not mention was that such progress was almost entirely cajoled by him. Earlier in the year Jackson urged the Presbyteries of Colorado and Wyoming to sanction and endorse women’s home auxiliaries for all churches within their bounds.¹⁴² Upon doing so, Jackson provided ready-made constitutions for all willing churches and ensured that his wife was president over the first society established.¹⁴³ As a further means to lure women, Jackson resorted to trickery throughout the early 1870s. Together, Jackson and Secretary Henry Kendall created a Woman’s Home Missionary Society with both men serving as the only known members. Under pretense of legitimacy, Jackson used the dummy organization to draw women into home mission rallies during General Assembly gatherings.¹⁴⁴ Later in his life Jackson boasted of how readily women flocked to this ruse.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., September 1873.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, November 1873.

¹⁴² Stewart, 264-265.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 277-278.

He alleged “it was not hard to fill the largest hall or church with women who would come in response to such an invitation.”¹⁴⁵ Despite the artificial nature of Jackson’s methods, the appearance of female enthusiasm was equally important to the organization of a women’s home society. Jackson needed the façade of female excitement to convince his superiors of the necessity for this new organization.

In spite of conservative resistance, the prospect of women footing the bill for home mission initiatives was looked upon favorably by the Home Board.¹⁴⁶ In both 1872 and 1873 the General Assembly passed motions that encouraged women to take a “deeper interest” in home mission work.¹⁴⁷ Jackson undoubtedly viewed such measures as being too pithy to affect any real change in women’s support. He continued to apply pressure through the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*. The March 25, 1874, issue featured an article that declared “[t]here is a demand for a home missionary society of women, to aid in the work of home evangelization ... now, what we want to see is a general society of women ... put upon the same basis of recognition and encouragement by the churches as that on which the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society now stand.”¹⁴⁸ Four months later the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* touted proposals passed by the Episcopal Church that would expand the role of their female constituents. In “Women to the Front Again” an unnamed author claimed that questions raised during the Episcopal Convention were

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 278.

¹⁴⁶ Jackson made reference to a conservative majority within the Home Board. Sheldon Jackson Memorandum, February 3, 1879, Transcripts, 98.

¹⁴⁷ Unknown author, *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (New York, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1872), 30. Also, Unknown author, *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (New York, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1873), 556.

¹⁴⁸ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, March 25, 1874. For the entire year of 1874 the newspaper was issued weekly.

“another sign among many that God in his providence is calling all the churches to open many doors of labor to women which have been hitherto closed.”¹⁴⁹ As Jackson prodded his superiors to incorporate the opposite sex, for the sake of their money, he continued to publish regular pleas for women to support home missions. His tenacity led to modest gains the following year.

In 1875 the Home Board boldly requested the General Assembly to “recommend the organization of a Woman’s Home Missionary Society.”¹⁵⁰ The assembly offered no such recommendation but neither was the idea rejected. The General Assembly merely accepted the Home Board’s report. For Jackson and Kendall, complacency was tantamount to consent and they wasted no time planning a ladies organization. Kendall sent Jackson the following queries:

1. Shall we try to bring the New York Society to become wholly Home Mission?
2. Failing in that, shall we adopt or recommend it as it is?
3. Shall we organize another society with headquarters here? Would not that bring us into collision with Mrs. Graham’s Society and her Auxiliaries?
4. Shall we dispense with a great Central Organization such as Mrs. [Graham’s] or the Foreign Missionary Society at Philadelphia and work only Presbyterially and Synodically beyond the individual church?¹⁵¹

Regardless of how Jackson responded, there would be no proceeding without the elusive support of women. In a concerted effort to rouse women for home mission

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., July 15, 1874.

¹⁵⁰ Unknown author, *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (New York, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1875), 489.

¹⁵¹ Henry Kendall to Sheldon Jackson, June 17, 1875, Transcripts, 665.

support, Kendall arranged for Jackson to make a speaking tour throughout eastern states. Jackson was to “confine” himself to the cause “stirring women in the city and country” for home missions.¹⁵² Jackson’s specialized itinerary was crafted for maximum profitability, as Kendall wrote “for here is the money.”¹⁵³ Concluding his correspondence with a sense of urgency, Kendall emphasized the Home Board’s “alarmingly low” financial status.¹⁵⁴ While it is unclear how Jackson fared during this speaking tour, he likely availed himself of the opportunity in dramatic fashion. In the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* Jackson wrote of the unique opportunity in which women were now “permitted to labor and speak for Jesus.”¹⁵⁵ With the Home Board’s tacit authorization to incorporate women financially into home mission work, Jackson turned his attention more readily toward monetary pleas.

As part of the process of appealing to women, Jackson began to report, with greater frequency, on the indigenous people of New Mexico following the 1875 General Assembly. A speech made by Jackson just prior to the Assembly revealed the methodology he planned to employ. The *Cedar Rapids Times* reported that Jackson made an address directed “especially to the ladies” about the human sacrifices, idolatry and “deeds of penance of the most cruel nature” that occurred among the “heathen” in New Mexico.¹⁵⁶ Amidst similarly themed articles, the October, November and December issues of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* featured extensive editorials informing readers of a July trip Jackson made through New Mexico at the behest of the Ladies

¹⁵² Ibid., August 30, 1875, Ibid, 698.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, August, 1875.

¹⁵⁶ *Cedar Rapids Times*, May 20, 1875.

Society at Albany.¹⁵⁷ In addition to details of his travel and characteristics of the land, Jackson recycled his previous claim that the Pueblo “still sometimes sacrifice children.”¹⁵⁸ He pleaded for a four thousand dollar school while recycling yet another assertion against “poor degraded, superstitious Mexican women” and girls who had “nothing before them but a life of ignorance and shame.”¹⁵⁹ In November of 1875 Jackson requested six hundred dollars for an Indian mission at the Laguna Pueblo.¹⁶⁰ He asked donors to send money to the Home Board, thereby superseding the Foreign Board, whose management of the area had already begun. Based on Jackson’s approach and the receptive response from women, the Laguna mission was likely conceived to draw their attention.¹⁶¹

Rocky Mountain Presbyterian exposés on New Mexico continued into 1876. In January Jackson claimed that most citizens in the territory could not “read or write their own names and a large majority [were] sunk in the most abject superstition. They already have the ballot. Shall they have the gospel?”¹⁶² Reverting back to general themes of heathenism, Jackson neglected to repeat his plea for a Laguna mission. While Jackson’s brief intervention with the Pueblo produced no known negative consequences, the Home Board proved unwilling to intrude on the Foreign Board’s field. Secretary Cyrus Dickson informed Jackson with regard to Indian agencies, “I think this Board will steer clear for

¹⁵⁷ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, October, 1875. *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, November, 1875. *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, December, 1875. General Frederick Townsend to Dear Sir, January 10, 1876, Ibid. 783.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., November, 1875.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ S. R. Townsend to My Dear Doctor, November 15, 1875, Transcripts, 752. Cornelia W. Martin to Dear Christian Friend and Brother, December 31, 1875, Ibid, 775. Sarah R. Townsend to Sheldon Jackson, January 17, 1876, Ibid, 784.

¹⁶² *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, January, 1876.

they have not here-to-fore influenced much credit on mission work.”¹⁶³ Dickson’s assessment was accurate as revealed by a report in the March *Presbyterian Monthly Record*. The Home Board’s official position stated “as a missionary field, these Indians are cared for by the Government and the Foreign Board and do not need our attention at this time.”¹⁶⁴ Despite such recalcitrance, women had shown themselves to be financially motivated by Indian missions and the publicity drawn from the Pueblo “attracted unusual attention.”¹⁶⁵ Such factors undoubtedly led Jackson to continue publishing articles about the Pueblo throughout the year as he was counting on women to connect with the region.¹⁶⁶ This hopeful association was confirmed by a *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* report that declared “New Mexico seems, in the providence of God, to have been a special work for our Ladies Board. Will not many friends answer to this appeal?”¹⁶⁷

Drawing women’s attention to sensational articles would have been a fruitless exercise without the imposition of a primary message. Within the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* that message was undoubtedly the need for home mission support. The January 1876 issue opened with an article called “Save the Country” written “by a woman.”¹⁶⁸ It claimed the salvation of the United States depended on money donations that would allow the Presbyterian Church to “not cut down salaries” and “send more men” out as home missionaries.¹⁶⁹ The logic touted in this message hinged on the wives

¹⁶³ Cyrus Dickson to Sheldon Jackson, February 23, 1876, Ibid, 812.

¹⁶⁴ Unknown author, *The Presbyterian Monthly Record* 27 (March, 1876): 65.

¹⁶⁵ John H. Dey to Sheldon Jackson, January 21, 1876, Transcripts, 785.

¹⁶⁶ For examples see *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, June 1876. *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, July 1876. *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, August 1876.

¹⁶⁷ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, December 1876.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., January 1876.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

of missionaries whose “comfort” depended on “the ability of the Home Board to grant their husbands adequate pecuniary aid.”¹⁷⁰ In “Woman in the Church” again written “by a woman,” ladies were accused of neglecting home missions. It stated “[h]ow much easier and better to teach the heathen who come to us than to send half round the globe to teach those who are hedged in by the laws and usages and guarded by the teachers of their own country.”¹⁷¹ Frequent reports on “Woman’s Work” reminded women of the urgent need for domestic support. One example expressed a need for money to prevent thousands of women from being crushed by “barbarism” and degraded “to the level of brute beasts.”¹⁷²

Appeals to women and regular reports about Native Americans remained constant features of Jackson’s journalistic strategy throughout 1877. The March issue alone of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* contained seven articles on New Mexico. To expand his repertoire, Jackson began to increase coverage on Arizona, though such columns appeared to also target men following reports of mineral wealth, timber and agriculture. Jackson claimed the land was ripe for development since “[t]he hostility of the Indian tribes ... has ceased. The Indians are now quietly occupying reservations and are as anxious for peace as are the settlers who are thronging into the Territory.”¹⁷³ In a separate article intended for women, Jackson struck a much different tone regarding Arizona. In conjunction with New Mexico, he cited the region’s deplorable religious conditions

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., March 1876.

¹⁷² Ibid., November 1876.

¹⁷³ Ibid., March 1877.

where people “bow down to idols of wood and stone.”¹⁷⁴ In addition to offering “sacrifices to many gods of their own creation,” Jackson alleged that “one man was shot and another burned for witchcraft – two were crucified to death and scores of others sacrificed their lives in the vain attempts to expiate their sins.”¹⁷⁵ It is unclear how women responded to such accusations, but *The Arizona Citizen* requested that Jackson “be a little less indiscriminate in his reference to us.”¹⁷⁶

Native Americans would not be the only *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* topic used to stir women; the rise of Mormonism was an easily dramatized calamity for Protestantism. In “The Mormon Wives of Utah” Jackson railed against polygamy by claiming that Latter Day Saint (L. D. S.) women were “lacking in womanly refinement, in spirit, and in the aspiration for something higher, or they would not tamely submit to such an institution.”¹⁷⁷ Much like Native American cultures, Mormonism was regarded as “heathenism,” and Jackson requested three hundred dollars to support a missionary who would combat “the festering corruption of an alien religion.”¹⁷⁸ Jackson declared further that “[o]ur sister in the harem of the Turk, or in the slave market of Cashmere, never bore a heavier burden, was never more miserably crushed, than our sister who claims part of the name of some many-wived Mormon.”¹⁷⁹ Blatant implications indicated that too much effort was being spent on foreign work to the detriment of domestic threats. When not committing “blasphemy” the Mormons were busy “seeking the overthrow of

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ *The Arizona Citizen*, March 17, 1877.

¹⁷⁷ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, April 1876.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, April 1877.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

the nation.”¹⁸⁰ While never lacking in enthusiasm, Mormon articles did not feature as prominently as those on Native Americans.

Despite Jackson’s unrelenting efforts, women did not flock to home mission work. A year had passed since the General Assembly purportedly advised the formation of a women’s home mission organization, and yet no effort had been made to do so. Channeling his frustration into a periodical report, Jackson began by insisting he “would not find fault,” only to spend the remainder of the column decrying female favoritism for the Foreign Board.¹⁸¹ Any hope that women would voluntarily organize to help pay for male driven enterprises, faded quickly. In response to female apathy, Jackson chose a more aggressive approach by implying that General Assembly mandates were compulsory for women. While echoing Assembly decrees he proclaimed “It is no longer a question whether it is expedient to have separate organizations of women for the promotion of Home Missions. This point is already settled. ... [N]othing is left but to give it such direction that it shall accomplish the greatest good.”¹⁸² Women appeared unmoved, but Synods relented under Jackson’s political pressure by presenting resolutions to their churches that encouraged women to rally for home missions, though, when announced, such commitments tended to be vague. Based on “an encouraging report from the home field” the Synod of Tennessee declared their ladies to be “thoroughly aroused to a sense of their duty and privilege.”¹⁸³ The Synod of Missouri claimed they would “recommend” their churches form women’s societies, though no

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, May 1876.

¹⁸² Ibid, October 1876.

¹⁸³ Ibid, February 1877.

distinction was made favoring home missions.¹⁸⁴ After acknowledging a thirty percent decrease in home mission support, the Presbytery of Huntingdon resolved to “pray and labor” for an increase.”¹⁸⁵

With a campaign message that revolved around ubiquitous themes of female suffering and the maintenance of male salaries, it is of little surprise that women continued their preference for foreign work. Organizing into home auxiliaries required women to sacrifice what little autonomy they had gained post Civil War. Jackson acknowledged “the new [women’s] organizations will have no appointing power, or even official advisory power.”¹⁸⁶ He could not replicate the independence offered by the Foreign Board but he could duplicate the appeal of foreign cultures as well as themes of Christianity versus barbarism through the mischaracterization of Native American cultures. Women’s interest in Indian missions endured, but Jackson was handicapped by jurisdiction. Up until 1877, the Foreign Board likely shrugged at Jackson’s trespasses into Indian missions, since they engendered only limited financial interest from their female donor base. Monetarily, there was little cause for concern. If anything, Jackson was inadvertently helping foreign work by promoting missions under their jurisdiction. Such an outlook would change after the outcome of the General Assembly that met on May 17, in Chicago.

The Home Board began their report to the General Assembly with yet another proclamation of deficient female support, but they assured the Assembly that in seeking

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, October 1876.

resolution their intention was not to act as “antagonists or even rivals.”¹⁸⁷ The Home Board went on to declare that an “emergency” necessitated “a change of action” in Utah and New Mexico as well as in the work among Indians.¹⁸⁸ They would not explain what this “emergency” constituted, but their desired “change of action” was the implementation of religious schools throughout the aforementioned territories. As justification, the Home Board claimed schools were necessary to help the “degraded and deluded women and children of Utah, New Mexico and Arizona.”¹⁸⁹ Indians, in particular, would be lifted from “the depths of long prevailing heathenism.”¹⁹⁰ Despite avowing nobility of purpose, the Home Board revealed that mission schools would fall under the auspices of “women’s work” and as such “[i]t is expected that the funds for such schools will be raised by ladies mainly.”¹⁹¹ The Home Board essentially wanted to sanction schools for the Mormons and Native Americans, but they did not want to pay for them. Furthermore, the money drawn from women was anticipated for more than just mission schools. The Home Board commended the involvement of women for the “specially needy” but also for their “enlargement of the common fund, that relief might be extended to all.”¹⁹² The subtle implications of this commendation revealed the Home Board’s intention to spend female aid however they saw fit.

Acutely aware of the Home Board’s bid to siphon away their female support, the Foreign Board responded by “strongly” deprecating any change in superintendence over

¹⁸⁷ Unknown author, *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (New York, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1877), 512.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 513.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 633.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 513.

¹⁹² Ibid, 632.

Indian missions.¹⁹³ In their report to the General Assembly, the Foreign Board announced that women bestowed a ten thousand dollar increase in donations from the previous year. The financial windfall they received from ladies' societies "amounted in all to \$124,958."¹⁹⁴ Meanwhile, the Home Board opted not to report on the money they received from women, instead speaking of the "humiliating" lack of general contributions they received.¹⁹⁵ After spending five years trying to rally women to their cause, the Home Board's play for Indian missions smacked of jealous opportunism, and the Foreign Board insisted that women not be hindered from conducting their "chosen work."¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, the Home Board provided no reasoning as to why a changeover was necessary, and they offered no plan explaining how they would proceed with Indian missions. By contrast, the Foreign Board touted their "[f]orty years of experience" working with Indian missions and proclaimed that "[s]uch a legacy is not to be lightly laid aside for the experiment of an untried superintendence, which, if successful, promises no superior efficiency."¹⁹⁷ Whatever idealistic sincerity the Home Board hoped to convey in their takeover was ultimately negated by their disinterest in sponsorship.

Jackson's role in crafting the Home Board's proposed Indian policy was never expressly stated in Assembly minutes, but the targeting of New Mexico and Arizona was likely his doing. It was readily accepted within the Presbyterian hierarchy that Jackson

¹⁹³ Ibid, 521.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 512. The Home Board did announce total receipts at \$ 274, 052 being \$14, 000 less than the amount received during the previous year. Ibid, 509.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 522.

and Kendall were the principal agitators for this movement.¹⁹⁸ To justify his intrusion into Indian missions, Jackson invoked the Foreign Board's poor financial standing while ignoring the Home Board's almost yearly cry of indebtedness.¹⁹⁹ Whether true or not, the issue of financing was a moot point since the Home Board expected women to foot the bill for Indian missions, a task that would be just as easily accomplished under the Foreign Board's guidance.²⁰⁰ As his primary excuse Jackson accused the Foreign Board of neglect. He claimed they "had not established a new Mission among the Indians and occupied it, since 1849."²⁰¹ Whether deliberate or not, Jackson's indictment was blatantly false. The 1870 Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions confirmed that a Navajo mission had been established in 1868.²⁰² A published review of foreign efforts also indicated that a Nez Perce mission was created in 1871.²⁰³ Even as such, the modest accrual of new missions was tempered by the Foreign Board's frequent incorporation of missions that other denominations retired from. To provide two examples, the United F. M. Society transferred a Seneca Mission in 1870, and the Foreign Board received a Chippewa Mission from the American Board in the same year.²⁰⁴

Much as they did in 1875, the General Assembly chose to side-step controversy by not making a ruling. Since there had been no official objection to their proposals, the Home Board interpreted inaction as approval. When they reported the events of the

¹⁹⁸ Stewart, 267.

¹⁹⁹ Sheldon Jackson to E. N. Condit, July 12, 1878, Transcripts, 302.

²⁰⁰ Stewart, 304.

²⁰¹ Sheldon Jackson to E. N. Condit, July 12, 1878, Transcripts, 302.

²⁰² Unknown author, *The Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America* (New York, Mission House, 23 Centre Street, 1870), 11.

²⁰³ Unknown author, *Historical Sketches of the Missions Under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia, Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886), 22-23.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 11, 13.

General Assembly in the *Presbyterian Monthly Record*, the Home Board appeared less confident in their ability to proceed. They acknowledged inexperience operating schools, stating “we have not established or supported them, or done anything toward employment or payment of teachers. But now we have reached a point where something of the kind must be done.”²⁰⁵ Even after this claim of urgency, the Home Board cited only a “belief” that women would furnish teachers and support.²⁰⁶ By contrast, Jackson was supremely confident proceeding amidst ambiguity; he definitively proclaimed authority to establish female teachers in New Mexico and Arizona and immediately solicited money to do so.²⁰⁷ More importantly, Jackson viewed the procession as being an administrative transfer giving the Home Board oversight of all Indian missions. In theory, this meant Jackson could establish new Indian missions and solicit donations for existing ones without resistance from the Foreign Board. In light of increasing jurisdictional antagonism, tensions between the Home Board and the Foreign Board erupted into an open feud.

²⁰⁵ *The Presbyterian Monthly Record* 28 (July, 1877): 196.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, July 1877.

A NORTHERN OPPORTUNITY REVEALED

Jackson first became aware of Alaska's home mission potential in the midst of the 1877 General Assembly. As the Presbyterian polity fought over women's money, Jackson was handed a letter written by Josiah Sawyer Brown, a soldier stationed at Fort Wrangell, Alaska. Having witnessed indigenous attempts to foster Christianity, Brown's letter pleaded for any willing denomination to establish a mission in Wrangell. Desiring an immediate Presbyterian commitment, Jackson published an edited version of the letter in the *Chicago Tribune* as well as in several prominent Presbyterian newspapers.²⁰⁸ Afterwards, Jackson forwarded Brown's letter to the Board of Home Missions whose participation would have been influenced by public awareness. The Moderator of the General Assembly, Dr. James Eells, recommended Rev. Francis H. Robinson as missionary to Alaska with the Home Board ultimately confirming his selection during a conference in June.²⁰⁹ Jackson would not have been immediately aware of this appointment as he had since returned to Colorado where his presence was anticipated in Idaho Springs for a meeting.²¹⁰ By mid June, Kendall informed Jackson of Robinson's pending nomination, indicating the Home Board's willingness to act immediately.²¹¹ Regardless, Jackson already anointed himself unofficial superintendent for Alaska as evidenced by his response to Josiah Brown on June 1.

²⁰⁸ Jackson, *Alaska, and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*, 138. He also published the letter in the July issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* (1877).

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ John MacAllister to Sheldon Jackson, May 28, 1877, Transcripts, 62. This meeting was to be held on June 3.

²¹¹ Henry Kendall to Sheldon Jackson, June 15, 1877, Ibid, 71.

Your appeal to the Y.M.C.A. for a missionary to the Alaska Indians has been referred to me, and I think I can send you a man. Please write me, what salary will be necessary to support a minister and his wife there? What is the least amount of money that will be needed for mission premises? Please send me any information that is necessary. What language will the missionary need to learn?²¹²

Alaska could not have appeared at a more opportune time for Jackson, having just wrested control of Indian missions from the Foreign Board. Launching a new mission in an exotic locale was the perfect opportunity to rally women to the Home Board. However, if Jackson wanted administrative control of Alaska he would have to contend with more than just Robinson's pending nomination.²¹³ Any inquiry into how Brown's letter arrived at the General Assembly would have revealed Reverend Aaron Ladner Lindsley's interest in establishing an Alaska mission. Brown originally sent his letter to the Y.M.C.A. in Portland, Oregon, where Lindsley received it in his capacity as Chairman of the Presbytery of Oregon. Lindsley then forwarded Brown's letter to the General Assembly hoping his plea would arouse interest in the cause. According to a book Lindsley published in 1881, he made inquiries into a mission for Alaska as early as 1869 but was unable to procure the necessary financial support.²¹⁴ After Brown's letter reawakened his interest, Lindsley deemed the time was right to establish a mission in Alaska. Despite having a similar agenda, Jackson made no allusion to an Alaska mission

²¹² Sheldon Jackson to Josiah Sawyer Brown, June 1, 1877, Alaska State Library, Juneau, Alaska. [Hereafter cited as Alaska State Library].

²¹³ Robinson would turn down the offer from the Home Board as he had already accepted another position. However, Jackson was not made aware of the full details regarding Robinson until late November or early December, prior to his book being published. O. E. Boyd to Sheldon Jackson, December 4, 1879, Transcripts, 301.

²¹⁴ Aaron Ladner Lindsley, *Sketches of an Excursion to Southern Alaska* (Portland, Library of Congress, 1881), 71.

in his communications with Lindsley; nor did he seek cooperation. Unbeknownst to Lindsley, his strong ties to the Foreign Board would make him an undesirable collaborator.²¹⁵ Not only did Lindsley serve as Chairman of the Foreign Mission Committee for the Northwest, but he was also a close friend of Foreign Board Secretary John C. Lowrie.²¹⁶

The 1877 indecision of the General Assembly may have authorized the Home Board to commence with Indian schools, but this allowance did not preclude the Foreign Board from continuing their work with Indians. If Lindsley was allowed to inaugurate a mission, he would do so with the backing of the Foreign Board. There was a very real possibility that the Foreign Board would sponsor Wrangell, if for no other reason than spite. Fortunately for Jackson, Lindsley did not attend the General Assembly and was not yet aware of what transpired. For Jackson to claim Alaska he needed to move quickly and hide his intent from an otherwise oblivious Lindsley; to this end, he succeeded. Despite two written exchanges with Lindsley, post General Assembly, Jackson never mentioned Alaska. On the same day that Jackson responded to Brown, he also sent out a letter to Lindsley in which he equivocally inquired about available missionaries. Lindsley's response, on June 11, indicated that Jackson was not forthcoming about the nature of his query.

We are quite desirous of securing the services of a competent man to act as missionary for our Synod. We have no man in the Synod who is qualified for this

²¹⁵ Young, 64.

²¹⁶ Ibid, 62.

work that can accept it at present. Perhaps you can think of some suitable person among whose qualifications a devotional spirit shall not be lacking.²¹⁷

In his correspondence with Lindsley, Jackson made it clear that his impending visit to the region was official business for the Board of Home Missions. He was tasked with visiting Idaho, eastern Oregon and eastern Washington.²¹⁸ Lindsley could not have known that Jackson was actively looking to recruit a missionary for his planned trip to Wrangell. In a second letter from Lindsley, sent on June 25, the opening sentence implied that Jackson may have also tried to confirm Alaska's ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Lindsley replied, "[o]ur Synod, as you know, covers a very extensive region, and we are without a Synodical missionary."²¹⁹ While veiled to Lindsley, Jackson was likely trying to determine whether Alaska fell within Lindsley's Synodical boundaries. Four days after his last known communication with Lindsley, Jackson inquired about departure times and ticket rates for a steamer to Wrangell.²²⁰

Jackson's plan to visit Alaska came together quickly. Half-priced travel fare to Wrangell was confirmed only a month after he first learned of the situation in Alaska.²²¹ Whether by accident or not, it was Jackson who necessitated such haste. By advertising Brown's letter in key newspapers, Jackson increased the likelihood of Lindsley recruiting a missionary through the resulting publicity. Alaska was far outside Jackson's assigned region, and potential Wrangell inquiries would have been directed to Alaska's closest Synod, i.e. the Synod of Columbia, within Lindsley's jurisdiction. To further complicate

²¹⁷ Aaron Lindsley to Sheldon Jackson, June 11, 1877, Transcripts, 67-68.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid., June 25, 1877, Ibid, 77.

²²⁰ James B. Roberts to Sheldon Jackson, July 5, 1877, Ibid, 86.

²²¹ Ibid.

matters, rival denominations also posed a threat, though to a much lesser extent. Brown's unedited letter acknowledged "[t]he doctrines taught thus far, have been those of the Wesleyan Methodist Church."²²² However, since the missionaries originated from Canada, Jackson did not recognize their legitimacy, and he shrewdly edited this delineation from publication to prevent American Methodists from laying claim to Fort Wrangell.²²³ In 1878 Jackson explained the perceived threat:

[M]y going to Alaska when I did prevented the Methodists from occupying the ground ... the impression had somehow been given and the expectation created that the Methodists would occupy the place ... If [Amanda McFarland] had not gone up at that time to remain, the Methodists would have been on the field, and perhaps the Roman Catholics.²²⁴

To further validate his need for immediate action Jackson evoked the menace of Catholicism, which would have been a poignant provocation for any Protestant due to the anti-Papist sentiments of this era. Jackson warned that "upon the invitation of some of the citizens of Wrangell, a Catholic priest had even then been sent for."²²⁵

At first glance, Jackson's admission is striking, as it suggests his Wrangell trip was taken up in mere rivalry with other denominations. However, the evidence Jackson alleged derived from letters he received after his trip to Wrangell concluded. Thus, while external competition might have influenced his haste, it could not have been his driving purpose. Despite evidence to the contrary, Jackson wanted his trip to appear unprompted

²²² Josiah Sawyer Brown to Sheldon Jackson, June 1, 1877, Alaska State Library.

²²³ Compare J. S. Brown's letter (Ibid) with the edited version published in the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, July, 1877, the entire newspaper collection can be found at the Presbyterian Historical Library, Philadelphia. See Appendix 1 for a full transcript of the unedited letter.

²²⁴ Sheldon Jackson to E. N. Condit, July 12, 1878, Transcripts, 303.

²²⁵ Ibid.

and only at the behest of Lindsley. He claimed “From Walla Walla to Portland, my trip was discretionary and the Secretary expected me to take it. From Portland to Alaska, my trip was finally taken upon my own judgment and at the earnest request of Dr. Lindsley and others interested in Alaska.”²²⁶ Jackson maintained this assertion throughout many of the publications he produced, though he never bothered to substantiate his claim that “others” requested him to go to Alaska.

Jackson knew the ports of travel to Alaska included Portland and Vancouver, the latter being too far removed from his tour.²²⁷ If Jackson hoped an announced visit to Oregon would result in an invitation to meet with Lindsley in Portland, he was not disappointed. In a letter sent on June 11, Lindsley encouraged him to visit and even provided complimentary passes for travel to Portland.²²⁸ However, in a letter sent two weeks later, Lindsley warned of an Indian outbreak that would hinder Jackson’s ability to move throughout the region.²²⁹ If Jackson received this warning in time, it did not faze him. Proceeding to Walla Walla as originally planned, Jackson was forced to detour to avoid a developing conflict with the Nez Perce; he arrived in Portland on or about July 21.²³⁰ This meant Jackson had to wait over ten days for his scheduled steamer trip to Alaska. Having failed to recruit a missionary, Jackson was likely prepared to make the trip to Alaska alone. However, upon arriving in Portland, Jackson learned that Lindsley

²²⁶ Ibid, 304.

²²⁷ James B. Roberts to Sheldon Jackson, July 5, 1877, Ibid, 86.

²²⁸ Aaron Lindsley to Sheldon Jackson, June 11, 1877, Transcripts, 67-68, Also, Aaron Lindsley to Sheldon Jackson, June 17, 1877, Transcripts, 73.

²²⁹ Ibid., June 25, 1877, Ibid, 77.

²³⁰ *The Occident*, November 7, 1877.

had sent J. C. Mallory to Wrangell in the middle of June to commence a mission.²³¹

Mallory's success was modest, but he did hire an indigenous missionary named Philip McKay on Lindsley's behalf before retiring back to Portland due to his failing health.²³²

Unfortunately for Jackson this development gave Lindsley a strong claim over Presbyterian missions in Alaska, but Jackson still had an opportunity. With Lindsley's first attempt at a mission stalled, finding an immediate replacement gave Jackson the influence needed to file a counter claim for administrative control over Alaska.

Fortunately for Jackson, he found Amanda McFarland, an acquaintance who had moved to Portland following the death of her husband. According to Jackson, McFarland applied to him for mission work and she agreed to accompany him to Fort Wrangell where she would remain as a missionary.²³³

As an indicator of Jackson's immediate need for a missionary, McFarland was not a qualified candidate to lead a mission. Despite his ease in exaggeration Jackson had difficulty highlighting McFarland's qualifications. He stated that McFarland crossed the plains "from the Missouri River to Santa Fe in a stage coach several times" and on one occasion travelled "a portion of the way" while being pursued by wild Indians.²³⁴ Jackson concluded that such "trials" prepared McFarland for frontier work. Such a poor showing of credentials owed, in part, to Jackson's lack of knowledge about McFarland. He did not learn basic details of her life until he requested an abbreviated biography from her on

²³¹ J. S. Brown to Sheldon Jackson, August 10, 1877, Transcripts, 108. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, September 3, 1878, Ibid, p. 224. Also, Lindsley, 72.

²³² Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, February 12, 1878, Ibid, 266.

²³³ Sheldon Jackson, *The Presbyterian Church in Alaska: An Official Sketch of its Rise and Progress, 1877-1884* (Washington DC, Press of Thomas McGill, 1886), 3.

²³⁴ Jackson, *Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*, 139. *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, October 1877.

November 11, 1879.²³⁵ Jackson needed the information for his book *Alaska, And Missions on the North Pacific* which would be published the following year.²³⁶ Ironically, in this book, Jackson claimed a kinship with McFarland and implied that her selection was premeditated. He wrote “I also found at Portland an old missionary friend, Mrs. A. R. McFarland, who was waiting my arrival to consult with regard to future work.”²³⁷ McFarland’s version of events contradicted Jackson’s insinuated planning. She claimed “[t]he last of July, Dr. Jackson said the Home Board was ready to take up the work and was looking for workers to send here, and proposed that I should come with him. So I got ready and started on four days’ notice.”²³⁸

In fairness to McFarland, she was well acquainted with Indian missions, having accompanied her husband through seven years of missionary work among Indians in the Southwest. However, her role during this time is unspecified, and if she had performed any special functions Jackson would have hastened to highlight them. Lindsley initially opposed McFarland’s placement, likely due to the radical implications of leaving a questionably qualified woman alone in uncharted territory.²³⁹ However, once persuaded by Jackson, Lindsley acquiesced, believing he would be McFarland’s sole benefactor while he sought a minister. Under his sponsorship, Lindsley commissioned McFarland as Mallory’s replacement, subsequently paying for her travel and advancing her two-

²³⁵ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, November 11, 1879, Transcripts, 289.

²³⁶ Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska, and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*, 139.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Untitled Article, Sheldon Jackson Papers, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Scrapbook Collection, 55. [Hereafter cited as Scrapbook].

²³⁹ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, October 11, 1877, Ibid, 147.

hundred dollars to recommence mission efforts.²⁴⁰ Lindsley believed Jackson only intended to visit Alaska and escort McFarland in the process.²⁴¹ Jackson appeared to offer no reason for him to think otherwise.

²⁴⁰ Lindsley, p. 2. Also, William Sylvester Holt, "Beginning of Mission Work in Alaska by the Presbyterian Church," *The Washington Historical Quarterly* 11 (April, 1920): 91.

²⁴¹ Lindsley, 72.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WRANGELL

On August 10, 1877, Jackson arrived with Amanda McFarland at Fort Wrangell; this visit would represent Jackson's first interactions with Alaska Native people.²⁴² His first impression was one of pious enthusiasm. Jackson wrote:

Upon landing and passing down the street, I saw an Indian ringing a bell. It was the call for the afternoon school. About twenty pupils were in attendance, mostly young Indian women. Two or three boys were present; also a mother and her three little children ... The familiar hymn, "What a friend we have in Jesus," was sung in English; a prayer followed in the Chinook jargon, closing with the repetition in concert of the Lord's Prayer in English.²⁴³

A mission school had been in place since the spring of 1876 due to the efforts of four Methodist Tsimshian men from Fort Simpson.²⁴⁴ Philip McKay (Clah²⁴⁵), John Ryan, Andrew Moss and Lewis Gosnall arrived at Fort Wrangell originally intent on making their way to the Cassiar gold mines in search of work. Upon finding the people at Wrangell living "in utter darkness as regards the Saviour and His love [sic]," they opted to remain and provide religious services to the Native population while performing contract work for the garrison.²⁴⁶ Many of the local indigenous people proved receptive to their proselytizing, and the dance hall they employed quickly became encumbered, which led them to utilize the home of a local Chief. With the encouragement of Canadian Reverend Thomas Crosby, who made a visit to Fort Wrangell in the fall of 1876, McKay

²⁴² Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska, and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*, 140.

²⁴³ Ibid, 140, 143.

²⁴⁴ Peter Murray stated that these men were from Metlakatla but no citation was provided. *The Devil and Mr. Duncan* (Victoria, Sono Nis Press, 1985), 133.

²⁴⁵ Prior to being baptized he was known as Clah.

²⁴⁶ Thomas Crosby, *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship* (Toronto, The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1914), 169.

agreed to serve as mission superintendent permanently until relieved by an American missionary.²⁴⁷

With Jackson overseeing the transfer, McFarland released McKay from his obligations, though he agreed to remain on as her assistant. Jackson's stay was brief, and with his departure McFarland was given full oversight of the mission. The Methodist converts had an established constituency and while Jackson might have anticipated a seamless transition; such was not the case. The situation in Wrangell proved to be complex, and McFarland's early tenure was of limited success. While it was never expressly stated, many Christian Natives were disappointed that a female had been sent. In one of her early letters to Jackson, McFarland acknowledged: "The Indians come flocking here yesterday as soon as the steamer came in to know if there was any word about a white man preacher coming [sic]."²⁴⁸ With her lack of experience brought to bear, McFarland quickly realized her professional limitations as she repeatedly expressed hope that a minister would be sent.²⁴⁹ Only three months after her arrival McFarland plotted her dismissal from school responsibilities so she could focus more on sewing classes for women.²⁵⁰ Her patience continued to fray, and by December of 1877 McFarland hoped that "any person" would be sent to relieve her. She claimed, "I feel the school as it now is, is to hard work for me with ever thing else to do [sic]."²⁵¹ Despite mounting

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, October 11, 1877, Transcripts, p. 148. In her first letter to Jackson, McFarland indicated that several chiefs were "anxious to have a white man preacher come." While cited by Jackson, this letter was not preserved and is unverifiable. Jackson, *Alaska, and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*, 151.

²⁴⁹ Ibid, 146. also November 10, 1877 169.

²⁵⁰ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, November 10, 1877, Ibid, 170.

²⁵¹ Ibid., December 10, 1877, Ibid, 194.

frustrations, McFarland persevered as the sole missionary until the arrival of S. Hall Young on July 10, 1878.²⁵²

McFarland's exasperation can be attributed to the sheer volume of work she felt obligated to undertake. Her main responsibility was to operate a school for a predominantly female base amidst varied attendance. Any additional functions performed hinged on her discretion. In McFarland's correspondence with Jackson, she made frequent references to her heavy workload, though she rarely provided details with the exception of irregularities. Two months after her arrival, an Alaska Native convert named Mathew successfully employed McFarland as a marriage counselor.²⁵³ Mathew had been told by his friends that his wife was a "bad woman" but McFarland convinced him of the need for forgiveness.²⁵⁴ Early in 1878, a Christian sub-chief named Toy-a-att along with two prominent Christian converts, Moses and Mathews, claimed authority to establish rules and punish offenders. When a Tlingit Chief named Shoostacks challenged this power grab, the Christian Natives turned to McFarland to write and thereby sanction their laws, which she did.²⁵⁵ In another instance early in May of the same year, a group of Alaska Natives sought McFarland's advice on funeral arrangements for their deceased chief; they also requested she offer "white people" prayer at his funeral.²⁵⁶ Evidence suggests that Alaska Natives took full advantage of McFarland's generous disposition and used her status as an American authority figure to their advantage.

²⁵² S. Hall Young, *Hall Young of Alaska: The Mushing Parson* (New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1927), 73.

²⁵³ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, October 11, 1877, Transcripts, 145.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., February 12, 1878, Ibid, 264. Also, Young, 88.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., May 11, 1878, Transcripts, 44.

While favored for her utility among Christian Natives, it is debatable as to whether McFarland successfully spread the Presbyterian ethos. Presbyterians considered Alaska Native Christians in Wrangell to be Presbyterians regardless of what denomination they adhered to. Even Philip's conversion from Methodism to Presbyterianism was unceremoniously confirmed by the transfer of a church certificate from Thomas Crosby to McFarland.²⁵⁷ It was never demonstrated that converts understood or even cared about doctrinal differences in Biblical canon. Nor was there any documented attempt to clarify. As Alaska Native people pined for a male missionary of any creed, it was clear that many Alaska Native converts did not believe themselves to be under the auspices of a Presbyterian Mission. Some were perfectly content with the Methodist precedent set by Philip. Two months after her arrival, McFarland informed Jackson of religious discord in Wrangell.

Philip told me that Mr. Crosby wrote him a letter saying he was coming to Wrangel sometime this month. I do not know what he is coming for unless to organize these Indians into a Methodist church. If he comes for that purpose [I] will prevent it if possible. There has been several young men up from Fort Simpson lately to preach. They will not use our singing books, but bring there own Methodist books and distribute them [sic].²⁵⁸

No Methodist competition presented itself, but further information from McFarland revealed that the Alaska Natives in Wrangell harbored additional theological attachments. After warning Jackson that the Roman Catholics had been sent for, McFarland noted "[t]here has a little Roman Catholicism crept in someway already. I have

²⁵⁷ Ibid., November 10, 1877, Ibid, 169.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, 147.

had to contend with some of them about the idea of confessing their sins to Philip and some of the others [sic].²⁵⁹ It is likely that McFarland was mistaken in her assessment of Catholic piety due to a limited Catholic presence in Alaska until 1879. Rather, the process of holding confessionals is also practiced by Russian Orthodoxy via the sacrament. Beginning with the advance of the *promyshlenniki* in 1743, Russians spread the Orthodox faith throughout the Aleutians and Southeast Alaska during their occupation. As a result, Orthodoxy would have been manifest by the time of McFarland's arrival, albeit in syncretic form. While perhaps unknowingly, it is likely that McFarland dealt with many Russian Orthodox converts, a constituency muted by religious competition and the lack of available priests.

Regardless of distinction, both Catholicism and Orthodoxy would have been treated as adversaries to Protestantism, a fact that Alaska Native people were readily aware of. Upon witnessing his rivals benefit from the Presbyterian mission Chief Shoostacks sought to even the playing field by calling upon his own Christian allies. On January 9, 1878 McFarland wrote:

There is a good deal of alarm among the Christian Indians here about the Catholic. There has word come from Victoria, that there are two Priests coming here to build a church. I sincerely hope it is not true. But Shoostacks the rich chief you went to see over on that point you remember is very anxious to have them come; and has been sending to Victoria, urging them to come, and urging them and promising how much he will help in building the Church [sic].²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., January 9, 1878, Ibid, 237.

The Catholics would not attempt a church in Wrangell until Archbishop Charles John Seghers and Father John Althoff arrived on May 3, 1879.²⁶¹ According to Father Althoff, Seghers secured a dance hall and offered mass the next day, which one hundred twenty Alaska Natives attended, along with many whites.²⁶² After dismissing the whites, Seghers provided instruction to the Indians who expressed “much pleasure” at several of his remarks. What was said is unclear, though remarks made by McFarland hinted at competitive rhetoric. On the day of his arrival Seghers allegedly told the Indians, “You are not Mr. [S. Hall] Young’s slaves, he is not a true minister anyway, no man can be a true minister and have a wife. ... Mr. Young will want you to give lots of money for his wife.”²⁶³ McFarland was concerned that Indians would be lured to Catholicism due to their fondness for show and display. While the indigenous response toward the Catholic mission looked promising from the onset, it never culminated into sustained support.²⁶⁴ Focused primarily on theological instruction, the Catholics could not compete with the advantages offered by the Presbyterians. Even Shoostacks, who had been adamant about a Catholic mission, was forced to concede for sake of his family. He enrolled his teenage daughter in McFarland’s school and began attending Presbyterians services near the end of 1879.²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ *The Catholic Sentinel*, June 12, 1879, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington. Also Young, 171.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, May 10, 1879, Transcripts, 220. McFarland claimed that Seghers provided a service the day of his arrival but Althoff stated that services were not held until the next day. Young claimed that his exchange with Seghers was cordial and the two struck up a friendship. It is likely that McFarland heard an exaggerated secondhand account of Seghers address. Young, 171.

²⁶⁴ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, December 16, 1879, Ibid, 316.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 317.

Being well informed of all that transpired in Wrangell, Jackson knew that circumstances involving Alaska Native people were exceedingly complex. By offering lip service to whatever religious utterances McFarland professed as being necessary, the indigenes of Alaska successfully manipulated her righteous intentions to obtain whatever benefits they could. Jackson would later acknowledge this reality.²⁶⁶ Nevertheless, McFarland remained essential to Jackson's plan for appealing to women, and as such he could do nothing but advise McFarland from afar and reframe her efforts in a more advantageous light. The Foreign Board offered a world of unremitting heathenism for women to combat, and Jackson needed to create similar circumstances. He had no use for Alaska Natives who were intelligent and opportunistic; Jackson needed ignorant barbarians as an image and cause to which women would respond and donate.

²⁶⁶ In 1885 Jackson stated "When the missionaries first met the people, great interest was taken in school and church and both were crowded. Latterly, this interest has somewhat abated. While some have learned to appreciate the Gospel, love it for their soul's sake and are still diligent in their attendance on the means of grace, many others seem to have attended church in the hope of worldly gain, In some instances prominent chiefs expected that the missionaries would build them a house and like the representatives of the Government make them presents, or that the locating of the missionary would give their tribe an advantage over neighboring ones. Sheldon Jackson, *Presbyterian Missions in Alaska in 1885*, Scrapbook, n.p.

THE ALASKA SCHEME

Upon his late August return from Wrangell, Jackson wasted no time spinning his version of events. The September 1877 issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* revealed Jackson's objectives in making the venture.

LADIES HOME MISSION WORK IN ALASKA – Rev. Sheldon Jackson is at Ft. Wrangle, Alaska, establishing a Home Mission Station among the whites and Indians at that place. He was accompanied by Mrs. D. F. McFarland, who takes charge of the Mission School to the Indians. A native convert called Philip was secured from the Missions in British Columbia who will assist in the school. The school opened with thirty scholars. ... with the Mission in Alaska, gives the Board of Home Missions a foothold in every Territory in the Unites States [sic].²⁶⁷

At the cost of a half-priced sightseeing excursion through Southeast Alaska, Jackson achieved a territorial milestone for the Home Board, which he emphatically advertised on behalf of ladies home mission work. Despite the Home Board's fresh authorization for Indian schools there was no indication that women were willing to divert their support from the Foreign Board. Jackson needed a compelling cause to draw the interest of ladies societies, and Alaska epitomized the ideal missionary playground necessary to draw such support. Not only were there indigenous people, but the land was unknown and appeared foreign. More importantly, Jackson had an exemplar in McFarland, who unwittingly became an advocate for women in home missions.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, September, 1877.

²⁶⁸ Jackson began publishing letters without her consent. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, December 10, 1877, Ibid, 193.

When publically explaining the authority vested in McFarland, Jackson initially walked a political tightrope due to prevailing gender roles. In the early months following his visit to Wrangell, Jackson cautiously advertised McFarland's appointment. He assured *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* readers that McFarland's "general charge" of the Wrangell mission would last only until a male was sent.²⁶⁹ Jackson also edited and published McFarland's letters, using the opportunity to clarify her role by highlighting the work she performed with women and girls. However, when fundraising among women, Jackson was less diplomatic in his assessment. Julia McNair Wright recalled the shock levied against Jackson.

"What!" was the cry that assailed Dr. Jackson; "did you leave Mrs. McFarland up there alone, among all those heathens – up there in the cold, on the edge of winter?" "Yes," was the reply, "I did; and she has neither books, nor schoolhouse, nor helpers, nor money, nor friends – only a few converted but morally uninstructed Indians and a great many heathen about her. Now, what will you do for her?"²⁷⁰

Wright also indicated that McFarland's Christian plight created an enthusiasm with "few parallels."²⁷¹ Following the success of her operations in Wrangell, Jackson greatly exaggerated McFarland's role to radicalize her achievements. He claimed that "all the perplexities, political, religious, physical, and moral, of the native population were brought to her for solution" whereby "her arbitration was universally accepted."²⁷² Despite Jackson's revisionism, McFarland's success was anything but certain during her early days in Wrangell. Based on how long it took the Home Board to accept

²⁶⁹ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, October, 1877.

²⁷⁰ Julia McNair Wright, *Among the Alaskans* (Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1883), 117.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska, and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*, 147.

McFarland's commission, they struggled over whether to approve her placement. In the October 1877 issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, Jackson claimed that McFarland had been commissioned for Alaska, yet the Home Board did not grant her a commission until February of 1878.²⁷³ From the start, McFarland's communication with the Home Board was one-sided, and they often ignored her queries even after granting her commission. As an additional frustration, McFarland had prolonged difficulties obtaining her salary from the Home Board, a vexation she repeatedly vented to Jackson.²⁷⁴ In September, missionaries John Brady and Fannie Kellogg informed McFarland that the Home Board was "dissatisfied" due to her extravagant requests.²⁷⁵ Were it not for the outpouring of public support and concomitant influx of donations, McFarland would likely have been recalled by the Home Board during the early stages of the Wrangell mission.

Whatever qualms they may have had with her, McFarland's poor treatment by the Home Board attributed, in part, to their disdain of Jackson's politicking. In his haste to claim Alaska, Jackson deliberately misled his constituents about the mission's qualified standing. His venture was unauthorized, McFarland had no official sanction, and Jackson made no immediate effort to inform the Home Board of his actions. Rather, Jackson appealed to the public, running the gambit in self-promotion until his superiors began to piece the situation together by mid-October. Having advertised a summary of his feat in

²⁷³ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, October, 1877. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, February 12, 1878, Transcripts, 265.

²⁷⁴ See Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, March 26, 1878, Transcripts, 265. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, May 11, 1878, Ibid, 43-44. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, June 7, 1878, Ibid, 87. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, July 8, 1878, Ibid, 111. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, July, unknown day, 1878, Ibid, 154.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., September 3, 1878, Ibid, 225-226.

the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, Jackson had no intention of hiding his trip from the Home Board, and yet he opted not to tender an official report. Doing so would allow him to delay the dissemination of detailed information, thereby leaving only his abbreviated rendition of events which glorified the effort and made him its principal agent. Jackson needed his Alaska scheme to pay immediate dividends if he were to weather the storm for his rebellious conduct. This was a common tactic used by Jackson to great effect, as the Home Board could only privately condemn his insubordinate whims lest they dismiss the public support he incited.

Jackson fervently believed that he had a right to interfere in Alaska because his oversight guaranteed success. Ipso facto, his willingness to act gave him claim to Wrangell. In 1878 Jackson explained this logic to Lindsley supporter E. N. Condit stating, “Now there is no explaining away the fact that I was the ‘link’ whom Providence sent to change repeated failures to success ... failure seemed to attend every effort, until I took hold of the work.”²⁷⁶ Jackson’s egocentric prose would also grace many of his publications on Alaska. Speaking of himself in the third person Jackson wrote, “No permanent missions were established or adequate provision made until Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., entered the field in 1877.”²⁷⁷ For all his bravado, there is no evidence to suggest that Jackson did anything more than serve as a glorified escort. Despite a month of planning, Jackson’s first visit lasted a mere three days.²⁷⁸ Once he confirmed

²⁷⁶ Sheldon Jackson to E. N. Condit, July 12, 1878, Transcripts, 302-305.

²⁷⁷ Sheldon Jackson, *The Presbyterian Church in Alaska*, 2.

²⁷⁸ During a speech published in *The Chautauquan*, Jackson claimed he left the same day he arrived. The October 1877 issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* indicated that Jackson remained long enough to preach on the Sabbath which would have been two days after his arrival. Aaron Lindsley indicated that Jackson last only a few days before returning home. A letter from Lindsley on August 25th indicated that

McFarland's charge over the school, there was little for him to do. In a letter to Kendall, Jackson highlighted the time he spent canoeing off the coast of Alaska, and on Sunday, prior to his departure, he spent the day preaching.²⁷⁹ Considering that the journey from Portland to Fort Wrangell required nine days of travel, Jackson could not have been overly concerned about logistics or mission sustainability. Inherent in his monomaniacal quest to be the first Presbyterian to claim Alaska was a complete lack of concern over its operational outcome. Jackson's strategy for implementing missions was not unlike his strategy for implementing churches. Most, if not all, of McFarland's early woes can be traced to Jackson's short-sighted strategy.

In the October 1877 issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, Jackson wrote a carefully worded article about the Wrangell mission to further promote his explanation of what transpired. He acknowledged both McFarland and Lindsley, though the latter was portrayed as little more than a stepping stone.

Rev. A. L. Lindsey, D. D., who so efficiently watches the interests of the Church in the Northwest, early felt the responsibility of this work, and again and again wrote in vain for help to occupy the field. But while the Church was delaying to enter the work, it seems as if God could wait on her no longer, and would raise up other agencies.²⁸⁰

By contrast, Jackson portrayed himself as the mission's sole benefactor. He claimed "being in Oregon on a special mission, it was urged that I should receive the

Jackson had already passed through Portland by this time. Sheldon Jackson, "Alaska," *The Chautauquan* 1 (November, 1880): 74.

²⁷⁹ Sheldon Jackson to Henry Kendall, 1877, Transcripts, 305. *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, October, 1877.

²⁸⁰ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, October 1877.

[Wrangell] mission in the name of the Presbyterian Church, which I did.²⁸¹ The administrative battle for Alaska had begun. Lindsley believed that he was the rightful superintendent of the Wrangell mission, and judging from early correspondence, he naively believed that Jackson supported his claim. On August 25, 1877, Lindsley intimated to Jackson his plan to commence with work in Alaska. He wrote, “I am prepared to strengthen my application for appointment of Agent for Alaska.”²⁸² Unbeknownst to Lindsley, his application would be conveniently misplaced en route to Secretary Kendall.

In his 1961 dissertation on Jackson, historian Ted Hinckley acknowledged the likelihood that Kendall and Jackson collaborated on the Alaska advance, due to their “long and intimate relationship.”²⁸³ Hinckley did not acknowledge the evidence favoring such collusion. According to the written testimony of Presbyterian minister William Sylvester Holt, Lindsley sent a letter to Kendall on July 27, 1877, announcing his commencement of a Wrangell mission and Mallory’s appointment.²⁸⁴ Lindsley wrote again three days later to clarify that Amanda McFarland had taken Mallory’s place, and he requested a commission for her.²⁸⁵ Receiving no response, on either account, Lindsley grew desperate for a sponsor and appealed to the Foreign Board on August 18, though they were unable to accommodate his request.²⁸⁶ As a result Lindsley reengaged the Home Board, his diligence rewarded a month later by happenchance. Home Board

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Aaron Lindsley to Sheldon Jackson, August 25, 1877, Transcripts, 114.

²⁸³ Hinckley, *The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson*, 12.

²⁸⁴ Holt cited letters he observed as a constituent under Lindsley, though these letters were not preserved and are thus unverifiable. Holt, 90.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, 91.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

Secretary Cyrus Dickson answered a letter from Lindsley intended for Kendall. In response to this dispatch, a confused Dickson claimed total ignorance of Lindsley's situation: "I can make no intelligent reply to what you say i.e. anent Alaska."²⁸⁷ Three days later Dickson sent another response indicating he knew nothing about the Wrangell mission or any of the agents who acted upon it. A letter written by Lindsley to Jackson, revealed that all of the documentation he sent to the Home Board had been misplaced.

Your intimations anent applications for Mrs. McFarland & c., lead me to infer that no such applications from me are on file 23 Centre Street. These applications were formally made, while you were on the way to Alaska. Some plots or miscarriages have come between my desk and the Secretaries desks, for important facts and letters have not been referred to nor acknowledged [sic].²⁸⁸

While hardly conclusive, the misfortune that followed Lindsley's attempts to claim Wrangell suggests foul play. Lindsley advanced his claim for Wrangell only after Dickson interceded, and it is unlikely that all of Lindsley's previous correspondence was somehow lost in transit. Unfortunately there is no further evidence available on Lindsley's lost paperwork. If Kendall received it, he willfully ignored it. As Lindsley struggled to clear matters with the Home Board, Jackson was actively promoting himself as the mission's founder. Regardless, these preemptive efforts to delegitimize Lindsley's claim to Alaska failed in the short term. By the end of October, Secretary Dickson had been fully informed of the details surrounding Jackson's unauthorized trip, and he was not without consternation over Jackson's silence on the matter. Still clueless to the scheme afoot, Lindsley expressed surprise over Jackson's negligence: "I assumed that

²⁸⁷ Aaron Lindsley to Sheldon Jackson, September 25, 1877, Ibid, 134.

²⁸⁸ Ibid, January 14, 1878, Ibid, 244-245.

you would forward a report to the Home Board.”²⁸⁹ In the aftermath of disclosure, Dickson accepted the Alaska work on behalf of the Home Board and forwarded Lindsley five hundred dollars for expenses rendered. As of October 20, 1877, Lindsley was granted administrative control of Wrangell.²⁹⁰

Jackson loathed the Home Board’s snub and refused to acknowledge Lindsley’s official appointment. A jealous quip is the closest Jackson came to conceding defeat: “Encouraged by being made Mrs. McFarland’s banker, [Lindsley] undertook to run the Mission which also complicated matters and made the work more difficult.”²⁹¹ Despite fears to the contrary, the threat of the Foreign Board seizing control of Wrangell never came to fruition, though not for lack of trying on Lindsley’s part.²⁹² The rivalry wasted on him, Lindsley was perfectly content letting the Home Board sponsor Alaska, but not without growing trepidation over what he initially thought was chronic mismanagement. By the end of 1877 correspondence between Lindsley and Jackson began to dwindle as it became clear they were in competition with one another.²⁹³ With the Wrangell mission officially under Home Board sponsorship, there should have been no further reason to undermine Lindsley, but Jackson still wanted superintendence of Alaska. To this end, he ignored the Home Board’s mandate and proceeded as though he had full authority over Wrangell. In the summer of 1878 Jackson granted himself the title “Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions in Alaska” without Home Board consent.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁹ Aaron Lindsley to Sheldon Jackson, October 20, 1877, Transcripts, 153.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, Also see Sheldon Jackson, Statement of Pecuniary Relations, n. d., Ibid, 227.

²⁹¹ Sheldon Jackson, Statement of Pecuniary Relations, n. d., Ibid, 221.

²⁹² Holt, 91.

²⁹³ Henry C. DeAhna to Sheldon Jackson, December 26, 1877, Transcripts, 204.

²⁹⁴ Sheldon Jackson to F. E. Haines, July 4, 1878, Ibid, 80.

Jackson was conspicuously quiet about the fallout from his unauthorized trip. The only clue rendered is an inherently misleading comment Jackson made to Presbyterian minister Elbert N. Condit who was a Lindsley ally. Jackson stated, “The Secretaries of the Board did not fully approve of my action, but as the step had been taken, they concluded to accept the situation and enter the Alaska work.”²⁹⁵ Since Kendall was likely aware of Jackson’s trip to Alaska, and as there were only two secretaries, it meant that Dickson did not approve of his actions. Jackson’s misinformation ultimately hinged on Condit’s ignorance of past events, as the Home Board’s apprehension had nothing to do with entering the Alaska field; they commissioned Francis Robinson less than a month after receiving J. S. Brown’s letter.²⁹⁶ Clearly, the Home Board had no qualms about entering into a new field; rather, their main concern was reigning in Jackson since he was already in hot water for overstepping his authority.

Only a month prior to his Wrangell excursion, Jackson had been cautioned in a letter by Kendall for making an “altogether unauthorized” move. Kendall went on to warn “The Presbytery of Colo., the Synodical Missionary had better proceed with care, both have enemies enough not to make others unnecessarily. We must not force things and we must all be compelled to note where our authority and responsibility ends.”²⁹⁷ This rare warning from Kendall indicated that Jackson stirred trouble with individuals not easily placated. Compounded by his illicit meandering to Alaska, the Home Board did not wish to reward bad behavior; hence, they ruled in favor of Lindsley. Their financial

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Sheldon Jackson to E. N. Condit, July 12, 1878, Ibid, 302.

²⁹⁷ Henry Kendall to Sheldon Jackson, July 16, 1877, Ibid, 92.

commitment confirmed, the Home Board had assigned Alaska's jurisdiction, and this decision should have precluded any further involvement from Jackson. However, Jackson's interference had only just begun. Whereas the Home Board saw just another mission amongst many, Jackson saw a golden opportunity.

SELLING ALASKA

Jackson was adept at politicking to expand his jurisdiction but the Home Board unequivocally blocked his official involvement in Alaska. Thematically, Alaska became Jackson's greatest fundraising achievement and yet he had limited administrative control over Alaska missions. As a result, Jackson went to great lengths to claim Alaska, and by all accounts he had become obsessed with the territory. Despite Jackson's enthusiasm he knew little about the land or its people. The methodology he employed when advertising Alaska demonstrated that it was only the idea of Alaska that he had become infatuated with. Jackson's first visit lasted a mere three days, and he would not make a return visit until July of 1879.²⁹⁸ During the almost two year period between his first and second visits, Jackson toured the nation posing as an expert on all things Alaska, despite knowing little about the land that he did not glean from books or secondhand sources. Jackson pontificated with relative impunity because Alaska was simply unknown, and, unlike New Mexico and Utah, there was no local media to keep him honest. To many, Alaska appeared as an undisturbed oasis, the Russian occupation notwithstanding. Thus, Jackson's blueprint for selling the image of Alaska would be no different from the strategy he employed when fundraising off a wild American frontier. However, unlike Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico, Alaska was a runaway success financially.

Following his return from Wrangell Jackson immediately began advertising Alaska in the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*. Alaska's first five months in the public

²⁹⁸ The steamer for Alaska was expected to leave the last of June or the first of July. Sheldon Jackson to Aaron Lindsley, March 4, 1879, Ibid, 125.

spotlight were relatively drama free, the only exception being elements of intrigue peppered throughout McFarland's published letters. There was little impetus for gamesmanship since Jackson had instructed that all Alaska donations be sent to the Home Board. However, in the February 1878 issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, Jackson reversed this declaration and told donors to send money to him instead. Conveniently, the February issue would also mark the beginning of emotionally charged propaganda leveled at Alaska's indigenous people. Jackson's limited knowledge about Alaska saw him borrow heavily from William H. Dall's *Alaska and its Resources*.²⁹⁹ Jackson was primarily concerned with cultural contrasts, citing, among other things, child neglect and the prevalence of polygamy among the rich. However, the data borrowed from Dall's book was taken out of context and made to appear representative of Alaska native culture as a whole. Jackson wrote that Alaska Natives held their babies in sea water as a cure for crying, and yet Dall attributed this unlikely practice only to the Aleut.³⁰⁰ With regards to allegations of polygamy, Dall indicated that some tribes embraced plural marriage while others did not; others, such as the Aleut, gave up polygamy after being pressured by the Russians.³⁰¹ The polygamous reference used by Jackson was a claim Dall made toward the Tlingit only.³⁰² Even if Jackson had not

²⁹⁹ William H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (Boston, Lee and Shepard, 1870). Jackson cited Dall in his book *Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*, 37.

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 388.

³⁰¹ Ibid, 399.

³⁰² Ibid, 415.

manipulated Dall's analysis, there is nothing to suggest his portrayal was an accurate representation of Alaska Native culture.³⁰³

To supplement the limited source material available on Alaska, Jackson resorted to false association. The culture shock expressed by Anglican missionary William Duncan during his first year in Fort Simpson was ideal fodder for Jackson to disseminate. Duncan was a layman operating under the Church of England Missionary Society who established a religious society in Metlakatla for the Tsimshian. Duncan wrote a horrifying account of cannibalism that supposedly occurred after the murder of a slave woman. He described the scene:

In a few minutes the crowd broke again when each of the naked cannibals appeared with half of the body in his hands. Separating a few yards they commenced amid horrid yells their still more horrid feast of eating the raw dead body. The two bands of men belonged to that class called medicine men.³⁰⁴

Jackson alleged that such accounts could be “constantly witnessed” on the Alaska coast, but Duncan's evidence was both inadequate and irrelevant. According to biographer Peter Murray, Duncan acknowledged that he did not witness the event and spent the remainder of his life trying to undo the damage caused by providing inaccurate information to an audience susceptible to sensationalism.³⁰⁵ Regardless, Duncan's claim

³⁰³ Dall was an American naturalist who made several trips to Alaska and reported on his scientific discoveries. However, Dall did not speak the languages of the Alaska Native peoples he conversed with. Who Dall spoke with and how such communication was translated are just two questions necessary to confirm validity. As pointed out by historian Philip J. Deloria, the scientific methodology used during the late nineteenth century was one of “participant observation – an insider approach that relied on empathy, subjectivity, and close contact.” As a result of this ethnographic approach, Indian people were made to appear “beyond the pale of American society. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1998), 93.

³⁰⁴ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, February 1878.

³⁰⁵ Peter Murray, *The Devil and Mr. Duncan* (Victoria, Sono Nis Press, 1985), 43-44.

was made against the Tsimshian people whereas the coastal people of Alaska were predominantly Tlingit. It might be argued that Jackson believed proximity was an accurate indicator of cultural similarities, but such a claim would be undermined by the association used in Jackson's next *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* exposé.

Before writing again for his newspaper, Jackson spent time lecturing, the content of his talks revealed by the secular press. *The Sedalia Weekly Bazoo* featured an article titled "Wild Women: Wonderful Revelations as to the Degradation of Women on the Frontier" based on a lecture given by Jackson.³⁰⁶ The article's introduction acknowledged Jackson's talk as being intended for the Presbyterian ladies of St. Louis. Focused primarily on Arizona and New Mexico Jackson claimed that indigenous "women do nearly all the work" and it was "common practice for mothers to sell their daughters of twelve or fourteen years to such traders or trappers as come along."³⁰⁷ However, Jackson also added that "[i]n Alaska matters are in a scarcely better condition" and he concluded with a plea for money, stating that Christian women were the only ones who could act on such issues.³⁰⁸ A similar article titled "Our Own Heathen" appeared in the *Nebraska Advertiser*, except this rendition was based on an address from Jackson in which Alaska featured more prominently.

The two thousand females of Alaska are referred to as the most depraved of mortals. They worship any article whose origin of construction is beyond their comprehension; they sell their offspring for a mere pittance; they speedily put an end to their deformed children and they throw their aged and infirm into the sea without any ceremony whatever.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ *The Sedalia Weekly Bazoo*, February 28, 1878.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ *Nebraska Advertiser*, April 11, 1878.

The expressed purpose of his lecture was to “awaken” Christian ladies to the prevalence of degradation and “arouse” them into providing relief.

Fresh allegations returned to the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* for the May issue. Jackson wrote “A Plea for Alaska” and addressed it to the women of the Presbyterian Church. Jackson elaborated upon the drudgery women endured by claiming that females in Alaska were “systematically oppressed [and] made prematurely old in bearing man’s burden as well as her own.”³¹⁰ He explained that in some areas men would only hunt and fight, with all other duties falling to the women. As proof Jackson quoted “a great chief” who exclaimed, “Women are made to labor. One of them can haul as much as two men can do. They pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, etc.”³¹¹ This dramatic rendition was actually the product of two separate sources. In reference to a specific tribe of the Athabaskan people, Dall alleged that Kutchin women were “drudges, doing almost all the hard work and [the] naturally good-looking, are soon made extremely ugly by their mode of life.”³¹² As for the great chief Jackson made reference to, this was Matanabee, a Chipewyan chief who guided Samuel Hearne through interior Canada from 1770 to 1772.³¹³ When explaining the importance of gender roles, Matanabee told Hearne “Women were made for labour; one of them can carry, or haul, as much as two men can do. They also pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, keep us warm at night; and, in

³¹⁰ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, May 1878.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

³¹² Dall, 431.

³¹³ Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales’s Fort in Hudson’s Bay to the Northern Ocean* (Toronto, The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1958), 33.

fact, there is no such thing as travelling ... without their assistance.”³¹⁴ This cultural observance from Matanabee, being of a different tribe and a hundred years prior to Jackson’s article, would have absolutely no bearing on Alaska Native culture. Likewise, Dall’s account was a reference to the Kutchin tribe only, and he immediately followed his assertion of female labor by acknowledging that among the Western Tinnah tribes “women do only a fair share of the work and have a powerful voice in most affairs.”³¹⁵ To create images of heathenism, Jackson had to ignore contrary evidence and cherry-pick from different sources, since Dall’s account was not sensational enough for fundraising.

Further accusations continued as Jackson claimed “[t]housands of your sex are there sunk in degradation, misery and superstition ... From early childhood they are accustomed to every kind of drudgery and oppression.”³¹⁶ Jackson subsequently moved to the topic of female infanticide, stating that it was common for some mothers to take their infant daughters to the woods, stuff their mouths with grass and leave them to die. Such actions were taken “to save their daughters from their own wretched lives.”³¹⁷ Once again this accusation was, in all probability, a fusion of two separate sources. Dall claimed that among the Inuit it was common for women to abandon infant daughters (in the manner cited by Jackson) for reasons of survival or abortion.³¹⁸ For increased aggrandizement, Jackson appeared to incorporate the account of Sir Alexander Mackenzie which stated that women “were subject to every kind of domestic drudgery” and were “sometimes known to destroy their female children to save them from the

³¹⁴ Ibid, 35.

³¹⁵ Dall, 431.

³¹⁶ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, May 1878.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Dall, 139.

miseries which they themselves have suffered.”³¹⁹ Mackenzie’s account was based on the Knisteneaux Indians of Eastern Canada *during the late eighteenth century*! Furthermore, Dall’s declaration of infanticide, whether true or not, was limited to the Inuit and not representative of Alaska Natives in general. Jackson deliberately weaved together sources to create a more sensational account of Alaska Native culture.

Jackson’s “A Plea for Alaska” included many further accusations of barbarity leveled against Alaska Native men in particular. He claimed indigenous women were treated as inferiors from birth and girls were often traded away for material goods or to serve base purposes. Additionally, all Alaska Native girls, upon reaching puberty, were considered to be unclean and as a result, they were confined for one year to a hut so small, they were unable to stand in it. Only the girl’s mother was allowed to approach her with food. Jackson alleged that polygamy and incest were common among the Kaviak, with men continuing to take wives until one bore him a son. Among the Nehaunes and Talcolins, women were expected to throw themselves upon their husband’s funeral pyre until their hair burned off. The unfortunate women who lived long enough to see old age among the Chuckees might expect to be stoned or speared to death and left for the dogs. Even in death, women would find no comfort amongst the Tuski and the Orarian. Unlike men, they were denied cremation, instead being left to the wild animals as they were not deemed worth the wood for burning. Overall, Jackson painted a morbid picture for

³¹⁹ Alexander Mackenzie, *The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1970), 135. Jackson was familiar with Mackenzie, as he was referenced frequently in Hubert Howe Bancroft’s *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1875). Jackson cited this book in his *Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*, 102.

indigenous women, their lives of toil, abuse, and disdain remedied only by the organization of Christian women and liberal donations to the cause.³²⁰

Continuing upon the lecture circuit, Jackson's message of unmitigated barbarity remained the same. Reporting on one of his sermons, *The Nebraska Advertiser* cited Jackson's claim that Alaska women are "the most depraved of mortals."³²¹ He went on to add "[t]hey worship any article whose origin or construction is beyond their comprehension; they sell their offspring for a mere pittance; they speedily put an end to their deformed children and they throw their aged and infirm into the sea."³²² Likewise, *The Salt Lake Daily Tribune* also reported on the "startling" stories they heard coming from Alaska. Jackson was quoted as saying, "[w]omen are regarded only as slaves; daughters are sold for blankets. A girl's fate is to be murdered in babyhood, or sold to shame in girlhood. In this part of our land no brother protects a sister, no father cherishes a daughter; even mothers have no maternal feeling."³²³

Clearly running out of ideas, Jackson's hyperbole was unyielding but his allegations became repetitive. The January 1879 issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* was inundated with articles about Alaska, and yet it was comprised mostly of recycled material Jackson had already published. His unqualified expertise notwithstanding, Jackson did find a willing collaborator to echo his accusations, thereby giving the appearance of validation. Presbyterian colleague Julia McNair Wright was an ideal partner as she was already a frequent writer for the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*.

³²⁰ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, May 1878.

³²¹ *Nebraska Advertiser*, April 11, 1878.

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ *The Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, January 8, 1879. The same quote was cited in the *Chester Daily Times*, January 27, 1879.

Despite having never travelled to Alaska, Wright wrote that infant girls were “strangled in the woods, or grow up to be sold for blankets.”³²⁴ She also wrote that Alaska women were “wretched” slaves who sold their daughters into the same existence that had been their own.³²⁵ Wright’s commentary was remarkably similar to Jackson’s, and at one point she simply reworded part of a lecture he gave: “No son honors his mother, no brother protects his sister. The heart of no husband safely trusts in his wife.”³²⁶ Kendall had warned Jackson of Wright’s willingness to express preconceived notions, and yet it was precisely this quality that made her a valuable contributor to the Alaska campaign.³²⁷

One might expect that Jackson’s extreme outlook of Alaska Native culture resulted, at least in part, from personal observations made during the course of his three day visit to Wrangell. However, Jackson’s first Alaska outing was nothing if not uneventful; his extensive account in the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* gave no indication of customs that could be considered barbarous. Jackson observed that the Native people “to a great extent adopted an American style of dress.”³²⁸ He noted inscriptions over the doors of homes owned by chiefs that revealed Christianity’s influence. One of them read “A Chief and Boston’s Friend.” Another stated “That no [china man] or white man allowed to have lodging in my house. Only for Christ’s servis [sic]”³²⁹ Jackson was impressed by the indigenous display of Christian fortitude as well as the overall desire for

³²⁴ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, August 1878.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, January 1879.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ Henry Kendall to Sheldon Jackson, August 20, 1878, Transcripts, 169. Kendall stated “I hope you will be careful what you publish as from Julia McNair Wright, she was not here at the Conference, tho’ urged to come, she is only expressing preconceived notions.” It is unclear what Kendall was referencing.

³²⁸ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, February 1878.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

American culture. As a testament to their commitment, a number of Alaska Natives promised him money, material goods and manpower to establish a church and a school house. Jackson published their names along with the amount pledged and concluded by asking his readers to provide an additional one thousand dollars for support. If Jackson witnessed any atrocities during his brief stay in Wrangell, he failed to mention them.

Determining the condition of Alaska's inhabitants during the late nineteenth century is difficult due to the limited sources available on the subject. Russia sold Alaska to the United States in 1867 and their appraisal of indigenous conditions differed from that of the Presbyterians. The Russians cited poor conditions among Alaska Natives, but unlike Jackson they blamed Americans as the cause. Published out of San Francisco, the Russian owned *Alaska Herald* featured an editorial titled "The Natives of Alaska" for its February 1, 1870 issue. The following proclamation was made:

Very little is really known about the people of Alaska yet already they have been abused and misrepresented more than enough to damn them for all time. The natives who have come in contact with the American traders on that coast are not average representatives of the whole population of Alaska; but neither are these same traders and sailors average representatives of the highest intelligence and refinement of America. We, or rather others, have judged the people of Alaska upon a basis that is neither just nor logical. We have passed opinion upon and condemned all the inhabitants of a vast territory upon the evidence furnished in a handful of its least important type. This is obviously a gross injustice.³³⁰

In an earlier article by the same name, the *Alaska Herald* alleged that Americans were portraying Alaska Native people inaccurately while also oppressing them by

³³⁰ *Alaska Herald*, February 1, 1870.

“fostering ignorance and superstition.”³³¹ Furthermore, the article claimed that “[m]orally, [Alaska Native people] are superior to the whites who surround them.”³³² One of the problems cited was the prevalence of harlotry. The *Alaska Herald* acknowledged that prostitution had been a problem during the Russian occupation after a law was enacted that forbid intermarriage. However, they claimed that prostitution increased after Alaska was ceded. American men took Alaska Native women as illegitimate wives, “tir[ing] of them in a short while and then turn[ing] them over to the soldiers.”³³³ On December 1, 1870, the *Alaska Herald* published a list of indictments allegedly made by Alaska Natives against “the Christians.”³³⁴ Among other accusations it was claimed that American Christian traders attempted to seduce and pollute Alaska Native women.³³⁵ The claimant further decried that “[w]hen we have attempted to defend the honor of our women we have been denounced as “brutes and savages.”³³⁶

After Alaska was sold to the United States in 1867 it was placed under military control. In 1868, the Army sent First Lieutenant Eli Lundy Huggins to operate a battery in Kodiak and he later published details of his experience in Alaska.³³⁷ Huggins made many observations, but arguably the most important was his charge against the firm that replaced the Russian American Company after the United States takeover. The Russian American Company was a monopolized commercial group that hunted furs off the

³³¹ Ibid, March 1, 1869.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid, January 20, 1870.

³³⁴ Ibid, December 1, 1870.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Richard A. Pierce, ed., *Kodiak and Afognak Life, 1868-1870* (Kingston, The Limestone Press, 1981), vii-viii.

southern coast of Alaska. They had been previously accused of harsh practices that led to the extermination of the Aleut and Huggins claimed that the new American firm tried to convince Alaska Natives that they were “subject to the same penalties as formerly.”³³⁸ He went on to note that “violence and intimidation were employed to convince them.”³³⁹ According to Higgins, this lucrative arrangement saw “traders” and “Americans in official positions” join in the deceit leading them to “systematically disparage and misrepresent the territory and all its resources.”³⁴⁰ Government investigations were of no use since their agents were “so dependent upon these traders.”³⁴¹ Regarding Alaska Native culture, Higgins claimed that they had been Christianized to such a degree that little was known about their former religious beliefs.³⁴² He also claimed that the killing of slaves upon the death of a chief “still kept up in many parts of Alaska” but “[t]here has been no slavery in Kodiak for many years.”³⁴³

In 1870, Lady Jane Franklin along with her niece Sophia Cracroft, made a visit to Sitka, Alaska, allegedly looking for documents regarding her husband Sir John Franklin’s lost expedition.³⁴⁴ Cracroft kept a journal of her visit, detailing her impression of Sitka and its inhabitants. She complained of the disgusting smell of fish and the dirty conditions while noting that despite appearances “we never carry away even a flea.”³⁴⁵ Cracroft later remarked on a “posse of drunken soldiers” which she heard was

³³⁸ Ibid, 17.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid, 3.

³⁴³ Ibid, 8.

³⁴⁴ R. N. DeArmond, ed., *Lady Frankling Visits Sitka, Alaska 1870: The Journal of Sophia Cracroft Sir John Franklin’s Niece* (Anchorage, Alaska Historical Society, 1981), xvi.

³⁴⁵ Ibid, 25.

“happening all the oftener.”³⁴⁶ With regard to Alaska Native people her experience was uneventful, mostly consisting of individuals peddling their wares. Cracroft observed that “[m]any of the Indians have blue and scarlet cloth cloaks, gaily ornamented with Pearl buttons – some wear boots and some few dress like civilized women.”³⁴⁷ The only sensational journal entry resulted from a story shared by a Navy officer who told Cracroft that only a month prior to her visit, a chief had died and a slave was to going be sacrificed at his burning were it not for American intervention. Cracroft was told “the Indians will not rest until such a sacrifice has been effected.”³⁴⁸

In May of 1874, the military stationed Army surgeon Dr. Jenkins A. Fitzgerald in Sitka for a two year period.³⁴⁹ He brought his wife Emily McCorkle Fitzgerald who avidly wrote letters to her family about her time in Alaska. Regarding Alaska Native people her experience proved to be uneventful. Emily wrote about conflict between two tribes after the accidental death of a woman.³⁵⁰ Following a payment of blankets by the offending tribe, the matter resolved peacefully. On December 16, 1874, Emily wrote of trouble in Wrangell in which troops had to be sent to stop miners from “selling whiskey to the Indians.”³⁵¹ On one occasion she mentioned the prevalence of prostitution in Sitka, stating that among all the “Russian women, more than two-thirds [were] prostitutes.”³⁵² When asked to describe the Indians in Sitka, Mrs. Fitzgerald stated that they all wore

³⁴⁶ Ibid, 35.

³⁴⁷ Ibid, 52.

³⁴⁸ Ibid, 28.

³⁴⁹ Abe Laufe, ed., *An Army Doctor's Wife on the Frontier* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962), 3-4.

³⁵⁰ Ibid, 67-68.

³⁵¹ Ibid, 74.

³⁵² Ibid, 90.

blankets and were “given to being industrious.”³⁵³ She also noted that the Natives cremate their dead and that the rich all held slaves.³⁵⁴

While accounts of this nature are not in any way representative of Alaska as a whole they do present ideas of the conditions in which American and Alaska Native culture interceded. The sources listed here indicated that Alaska Native people had to deal with social issues such as drunkenness and prostitution but more importantly such impositions were perceived as resulting from American contact. In marked contrast, Jackson tried to make Alaska Native culture appear to be the innate source of strife and immorality. Most notably he blamed Alaska Native men. Combating social problems that resulted from contact between cultures was a far separate issue from educating Alaska Native people out of a purported state of total barbarism. It was likely far easier to raise funds off the latter circumstance.

³⁵³ Ibid, 106-107.

³⁵⁴ Ibid, 107.

PECUNIARY MOTIVATIONS

Less than two months after he returned from Wrangell, Jackson received a letter from the Home Board Temporary Clerk O. E. Boyd which concluded with a prophetic remark: “The inquiries we have about the Alaska work inclines us to think that it will draw the cash as no other mission has done so far.”³⁵⁵ Boyd’s assessment would prove accurate thanks to zealous promotion by Jackson through editorials and speaking engagements. His greatest mouthpiece would be the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, which featured a new Alaska segment almost every month. In addition to sensational articles, Jackson employed the letters he received from McFarland, giving readers a view into her trials at Wrangell. Prior to publication Jackson carefully edited each letter for sake of provocation, profitability, and to wean out confidential or incriminating information.³⁵⁶ Given his determination to claim Wrangell, Jackson anticipated the territory’s broad appeal, though Alaska proved more than just a passing fancy among his constituents. The Wrangell mission endured as a public relations spectacle with enthusiasm translating to generous donations. In a move that was likely intended to mollify the Home Board, Jackson initially adhered to protocol in Alaska rather than direct money into his Raven Fund. Following his first substantial article on Alaska in the October issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, Jackson instructed his readers to send all donations to the Home Board.

³⁵⁵ O. E. Boyd to Sheldon Jackson, October 19, 1877, Ibid, 152.

³⁵⁶ Compare the letters within Jackson’s Correspondence collection with the same letters published in the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*.

[I]f the ladies of any church would like to prepare *at once* a box of substantial clothing and bedding ... The pledge of \$600 to the Home Board, for support of Mrs. D. F. McFarland, is also wanted. Send pledges to Rev. Drs. Kendall and Dickson.³⁵⁷

Jackson's Raven Fund had always been a point of contention with his superiors, and this gesture was politically timed to endorse his candidacy for Alaska. In the end, it was for naught. By the end of October, Lindsley was given charge of Alaska, just in time for donations to begin rolling in thanks to Jackson's promotional efforts. Four months later Jackson rectified his exclusion in the February 1878 issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*. An article on the front page stated "Special contributions for the Wrangel Mission can be sent to Sheldon Jackson, Denver, Col. It is the call of God's providence. Who will respond? [sic]"³⁵⁸ It is unknown how Jackson's superiors responded to this blatant interjection, but by the May issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* he had reverted back to his initial declaration.³⁵⁹ It was of no consequence; many sent Jackson donations for Alaska and continued to do so despite the mixed messaging. Known monetary contributions, referenced in letters to Jackson, indicated an audience highly receptive to the Alaska spectacle; he typically received donations in the range of one dollar to one hundred dollars.³⁶⁰ Jackson's initial plea for six hundred dollars was quickly surpassed, and to justify sustained donations Jackson ensured that most Alaska editorials doubled as a bid for charity. The November and December issues of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* requested money to fulfill McFarland's request for a girl's home in

³⁵⁷ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, October 1877.

³⁵⁸ Ibid, February 1878.

³⁵⁹ Ibid, May 1878.

³⁶⁰ Invalid Chau, to Sheldon Jackson, January 7, 1878, Transcripts, 234. Robert Davis to Sheldon Jackson, December 11, 1879, Ibid, 308.

Wrangell, while the January issue called for children to “form Home Mission Bands to send teachers to the heathen children in Alaska.”³⁶¹

As Jackson worked to seize control of Alaska’s appropriations he also did his best to undermine Lindsley’s authority as administrator. In a statement of pecuniary relations between Lindsley and McFarland, Jackson accused Lindsley of gross incompetence based, in part, on his inability to process McFarland’s salary.³⁶² McFarland accrued considerable debt on both mission related expenses and personal comforts. The Home Board required that all Wrangell related expenditures first pass through Lindsley, to include McFarland’s earnings. Ironically, McFarland should have been the primary beneficiary of any money pouring in from the Alaska fervor, and yet she had to wait almost two years just to receive her full salary.³⁶³ The blame ultimately fell on Lindsley, and Jackson used a long series of edited letters ranging from 1877 through 1880 to build a convincing case that Lindsley was both despised and inept.³⁶⁴ Believing that Lindsley was responsible for her woes, McFarland often wrote disparagingly about him, referring to Lindsley to as being selfish, narrow-minded and jealous.³⁶⁵ McFarland’s circumstances also influenced missionary recruits sent to Alaska; S. Hall Young believed that she was

³⁶¹ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, November 1877. *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, December 1877. *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, January 1878.

³⁶² Sheldon Jackson, Statement of Pecuniary Relations, n. d., Transcripts, 221.

³⁶³ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, May 10, 1879, Ibid, 221.

³⁶⁴ How and when Jackson used these letters to attack Lindsley is unknown. He was careful to include only harsh excerpts and he omitted information that would potentially reflect badly upon him.

³⁶⁵ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, September 11, 1878, Transcripts, 223.

treated “shamefully” by Lindsley.³⁶⁶ John G. Brady warned, “If I am treated as Mrs. McFarland has been, I shall set up such a howl that will ring across the continent.”³⁶⁷

McFarland’s neglect appeared to be of Lindsley’s doing, but a closer examination into Jackson’s evidence reveals a starkly different account. Much was made of the fact that Lindsley did not transfer McFarland her salary based on the initial five hundred dollars he received from Dickson. However, as previously mentioned, McFarland did not receive her commission until February of 1878.³⁶⁸ The money paid to Lindsley was not in anticipation of salary. Rather, it was to help cover at least seven hundred dollars of debt he had accrued when establishing the Wrangell mission.³⁶⁹ Lindsley was not fully compensated for his initial expenses, and to compound matters McFarland readily accrued expenses during her tenure, which she only discussed with Jackson.³⁷⁰ Despite having no authority to do so, Jackson encouraged spending. McFarland went into debt furnishing her home based on assurances from Jackson that he would find ladies who would pay for such expenses.³⁷¹ Additionally, Jackson made a financial arrangement with Philip McKay that superseded the agreement he made with Lindsley.³⁷² When Philip died

³⁶⁶ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, December 5, 1878, Ibid, 30.

³⁶⁷ John G. Brady to Sheldon Jackson, July 9, 1878, Ibid, 120.

³⁶⁸ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, February 12, 1878, Ibid, 265.

³⁶⁹ Lindsley began with a six hundred dollar expense. Aaron Lindsley to Sheldon Jackson, September 25, 1877, Ibid, 134. He also forwarded McFarland another hundred in October. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, October 11, 1877, Ibid, 147.

³⁷⁰ She bought carpet, furniture, food and appliances. She also had her belongings sent through freight without confirming the expense. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, October 11, 1877, Ibid, 145-148. After Philip became sick a doctor bill followed. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, November 10, 1877, Ibid, 169. Not liking the old books she inherited she purchased new ones. She also bought a stove. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, December 10, 1877, Ibid, 193. Philip’s commission was never confirmed by the Home Board, thus, he was never paid. When he died McFarland was left trying to square his debts away. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, January 9, 1878, Ibid, 235.

³⁷¹ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, October 11, 1877, Ibid, 148.

³⁷² Lindsley came to an arrangement with Philip via Mallory. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, February 12, 1878, Ibid, 266. McFarland expressed surprise that Lindsley had not been informed of a

on January 1, 1879, Lindsley instructed McFarland to provide an account of his affairs to be settled.³⁷³ Confused by the bills he received, Lindsley insisted that McFarland send him an itemized account of her spending, and he was shocked by the “reckless expenditures” made without his approval.³⁷⁴ McFarland’s indulgences resulted, in part, from her inexperience in mission work, though she also believed that Jackson had the authority to authorize her expenses.³⁷⁵

In their dealings with Lindsley, the Home Board secretaries conveyed divided loyalties. Dickson remained firmly behind Lindsley and treated him like Alaska’s rightful administrator.³⁷⁶ Kendall favored Jackson and whether intentionally or not he helped Jackson foster an image of Lindsley as an ineffectual superintendent. On or about October 11, 1878, Kendall replied to a report from McFarland in which she claimed to have not received her full salary. Kendall responded, “the following sums have been sent to you, or on your account since you went to Fort Wrangel [sic].”³⁷⁷

October 10 th , 1877. -----	\$350.00
November 30 th , 1877. -----	\$100.00
February 9 th , 1878. -----	(To Sheldon Jackson, I think)
	\$51.00
June 18 th , 1878. -----	\$200.00
July 17 th , -----	(Special)----- <u>\$10.00</u>
	Total -----\$711.00

separate financial arrangement Jackson made with Philip. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, January 9, 1878, Ibid, 238.

³⁷³ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, January 9, 1878, Ibid, 235. Also, Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, February 12, 1878, Ibid, 266.

³⁷⁴ Ibid, March 14, 1878, Ibid, 282.

³⁷⁵ McFarland outlined her expenses to Jackson for reasons unknown. In December of 1877 she sent a statement of her financial affairs to Jackson. Ibid, 236.

³⁷⁶ Cyrus Dickson to Sheldon Jackson, January 25, 1879, Ibid, 86. John G. Brady to Sheldon Jackson, March 31, 1879, Ibid, 170.

³⁷⁷ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, October 11, 1878, Ibid, 262.

Kendall continued, “Why it has not reached you is indeed a mystery, and how you have lived is another. This money with the exceptions of the \$50.00 and the \$10.00 I think has all been sent to and through Dr. Lindsley, supposing that to be the safest way.”³⁷⁸ McFarland was outraged by this note, not realizing that Kendall’s accounting was irregular. Lindsley was not granted administrative control of Alaska until October 20, 1877.³⁷⁹ He would not have received Wrangell funds prior to this date. Furthermore, the five hundred dollars Lindsley received upon his confirmation was conspicuously absent from Kendall’s list. An inquiry made by Jackson in the summer of 1879 implied that Lindsley had, to that point, received no payment for his efforts beyond the initial five hundred dollars.³⁸⁰ Ignorant of the circumstances, Home Board Treasurer O. D. Eaton prodded Lindsley to cover McFarland’s salary, believing that he had adequate funds to resolve Wrangell expenses. Linsley responded in frustration: “I can’t account for the money coming to ... Mrs. McFarland and Dr. Jackson.”³⁸¹

Lindsley was right to be alarmed by his exclusion as there was a considerable amount of money coming in for Alaska and no regulatory oversight. By the end of 1878 there were at least four Presbyterian entities collecting and administering money for the Wrangell mission.³⁸² Between October 1877 and December 1879, Jackson claimed he raised over twelve thousand dollars for Presbyterian efforts in Alaska.³⁸³ Unfortunately

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Aaron Lindsley to Sheldon Jackson, October 20, 1877, Ibid. 153.

³⁸⁰ O. E. Boyd to Sheldon Jackson, Unknown Date, Ibid, 250. Chronologically, this letter would have been written either late June or early July, 1879.

³⁸¹ O. D. Eaton to Sheldon Jackson, April 1, 1879, Ibid, 173.

³⁸² Sheldon Jackson, the Home Board, the Ladies Board of Missions and the Women’s Executive Committee of Home Missions all received and directly administered money earmarked for Alaska.

³⁸³ Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska, and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*, 144.

there are no financial records for verification, but it is possible that Jackson's summation was a reference to what he *alone* managed to raise. The Home Board may have been the overseeing sponsors for Alaska, but Jackson had either influence or direct control over most of the incoming donations for the territory. Furthermore, he encouraged donors to send money to him as opposed to his superiors, thus becoming Alaska's unofficial administrator.³⁸⁴ Given Jackson's considerable influence over donations and the large sums of money accumulated, Wrangell should have benefited from an immediate influx of capital. However, Jackson used his authority to ensure it did not, since Lindsley was Alaska's official administrator and success would reflect on him.

The Home Board had given Lindsley general charge of Alaska, but his access to incoming donations earmarked for Wrangell was restricted. The problem owed largely to Jackson's successful attack upon his character. In a letter sent on May 8, 1879, Treasurer Eaton reassured Jackson that Lindsley would not be managing Alaska's financial affairs. He stated, "I don't think you need give yourself any uneasiness about any moneys being placed in the hands of Dr. Lindsley."³⁸⁵ A mocking remark made in separate letter revealed the reason for Eaton's bias: "keep your eyes open for an opening in the peanut business for [Dr. Lindsley]. Possibly he might be able to manage the finances of such a

³⁸⁴ A letter received revealed a competitive distinction between sending money to the Home Board as opposed to Jackson. It stated: "We had out collection for home missions Nov. 16th and I offered a resolution at the meeting of session trying to urge that the money to be sent to you direct. But the Session, felt while they would like to do so, it would be proper to send it to the Home Board ... Hoping you may be able to get it. [sic]. John F. Edgar to Sheldon Jackson, November 21, 1879, Transcripts, 295. Also see W. A. Paxton to Sheldon Jackson, December 24, 1877, Ibid, 203. Abbie Porter to Sheldon Jackson, March 7, 1879, Ibid, 130.

³⁸⁵ O. D. Eaton to Sheldon Jackson, May 8, 1879, Ibid, 214.

concern provided the capital did not exceed twenty shillings.”³⁸⁶ Jackson’s campaign to make Lindsley appear financially inept was a success. Two years after the mission’s inauguration Lindsley was still trying to recoup his losses and determine the amount of money available. The problem was revealed in a letter Lindsley received in which a friend responded: “Were it in my power I would immediately relieve you of financial embarrassment under which you are left unjustly ... I would like to see the letters which were written to you by Drs. Dickson, Kendall and Jackson. ... What was said about the amount of money then raised?”³⁸⁷

Jackson’s anti-Lindsley strategy was effective but it also negatively impacted McFarland. All money intended for her had to first go through Lindsley, leaving her without proper funding. Jackson resolved this dilemma by sending money directly to her in secret. In the first instance, McFarland responded, “I was very glad to receive your note and so thankful for the \$150 enclosed ... I will say nothing to Dr. Lindsley about getting this.”³⁸⁸ This solution was only a temporary fix, and McFarland eventually realized the problem extended beyond Lindsley. On July 9, 1878 John Brady sent the following message to Jackson:

Mrs. McFarland came up on the California and she returns. She feels very sad at the way in which she has been treated by the Board. She has been there a whole year and not a cent of salary. She has spent her own little sum and is in debt \$300 to Mr. Vanderbilt. Now in the name of common decency say no more about the

³⁸⁶ Ibid, October 4, 1879, Ibid, 268.

³⁸⁷ Unknown author to Aaron Lindsley, September 12, 1879, Lindsley-Ross Family Papers 1779-1959, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon. This letter is incomplete thus the author is unknown.

³⁸⁸ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, November 10, 1877, Transcripts, 170. On November 9, 1878 he sent “another check.” Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, November 9, 1878, Ibid, 237. On October 2, 1879, he sent her another \$100. Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, October 2, 1879, Transcripts, 267.

“First missionary to Alaska and she a woman” till she is paid. She has not received any letter assigning any reason for delay.³⁸⁹

McFarland’s money woes were eventually resolved after Lindsley gained greater access to Alaska funds.³⁹⁰ He was also able to exert influence over the territory by establishing his niece in Sitka and organizing “the first American church” in Wrangell.³⁹¹ Contrary to appearances, the Home Board had not sided with Jackson against Lindsley. They complained about Lindsley being “alienated,” though Jackson shrugged off this concern as being mere jealousy on Lindsley’s part.³⁹² In January of 1879 the Home Board unanimously passed a resolution to confine Jackson to labors within his own field “except when invited to leave it by the [Home] Board.”³⁹³ Jackson responded to this decree by subtly threatening to resign while reminding the Home Board that his appeal in the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* inundated them with over two thousand dollars.³⁹⁴ Additionally, Jackson noted that Alaska was the Home Board’s most popular mission and federal involvement could potentially provide them with twenty-five thousand annually for mission work in the territory, expenditures that would otherwise go to the Catholics.³⁹⁵ The crux of Jackson’s argument for continued involvement rested on money and his ability to deliver it. Jackson’s plea must have sufficed, as the Home Board

³⁸⁹ John G. Brady to Sheldon Jackson, July 9, 1878, Ibid, 119.

³⁹⁰ Precisely when is unclear but by December 17, 1879, he was given full reimbursements and administering salaries. Henry Kendall to Sheldon Jackson, December 17, 1879, Ibid, 319.

³⁹¹ J. Thorburn Ross, *Aaron Ladner Lindsley: Founder of Alaska Missions and Leader of Other Great Enterprises in the Northwest* (n. p., 1910), 6.

³⁹² Sheldon Jackson to Dear Brother, February 14, 1879, Transcripts, 96.

³⁹³ Henry J. Van Dyke to Sheldon Jackson, January 31, 1879, Transcripts, 93. Jackson immediately requested confirmation of this resolution from the Home Board. O. E. Boyd to Sheldon Jackson, February 3, 1879, Ibid, 99.

³⁹⁴ Sheldon Jackson to Dear Brother, February 14, 1879, Ibid, 94-95.

³⁹⁵ Ibid, 95-96.

lightened their stance, though Jackson's fiscal priorities were not shared by everyone.

Dickson wrote Jackson, "I regard Alaska as already receiving more attention and securing larger aid than other larger and more important fields of Home Missionary work."³⁹⁶

³⁹⁶ Cyrus Dickson to Sheldon Jackson, January 25, 1879, Ibid, 86.

WOMEN ORGANIZE AND PROPAGANDA CONTINUES

The increased attention that Alaska received was not by happenstance. Jackson was not only writing extensively about Alaska, but he claimed he made over nine hundred public addresses about the territory between October 1877 and June 1884.³⁹⁷ Whereas Jackson's Pueblo campaign had only drawn modest interest from women, they were fully engaged in the Alaska effort. The Foreign Board believed this correlation was by design and Jackson's annexation of Indian missions stemmed only from a desire to siphon away their female support. In the zero sum game for women's money, Jackson went from being a mere nuisance to a serious threat. Rather than idly watch their donor base dwindle, the Foreign Board took to the offensive. On January 1, 1878, Foreign Board Secretary Frank F. Ellinwood, sent out pamphlets to churches in Pennsylvania and New Jersey where Jackson was scheduled to provide a series of lectures to women. In scathing fashion, the circular accused Jackson of using Indian missions as a ruse to divert money away from the Foreign Board and into the Home Board's general fund where it would benefit men as opposed to heathen women.³⁹⁸

Dr. Jackson stated to the Indian Commission at Washington recently that the reason why the Indian work was fast passing from the Foreign to the Home Board was that the Home Board had funds and the other had not ... Behold then! When the appeal is made to the judgment of men, the fat surplus of funds is urged. When dealing with the sympathies of women there is a clamor for a just share of funds. Money is the chief aim of the present campaign of Dr. Jackson ... what is worst of all, the winter's gift and toils of Christian women of each church in preparing not less than \$200,000 worth of boxes for Home Missions, are ignored

³⁹⁷ Sheldon Jackson, *The Presbyterian Church in Alaska*, 3.

³⁹⁸ Henry Kendall to Sheldon Jackson, January 1, 1878, *Ibid*, 229.

or misrepresented in a recent circular which states that they gave last year but \$11,000 for Home work.³⁹⁹

At Kendall's request, Jackson did not respond to these allegations, but he had no intention of backing down from the challenge. Instead, Jackson decided to force the creation of a women's home board which would permanently divide women's fiscal support. The implementation of such an agency had long been planned, but Jackson would no longer wait for women to act of their own volition. Jackson reignited the issue not long after Ellinwood's report and was quick to receive pushback. A female supporter questioned Jackson's fresh call for organization: "Can't that be accomplished without new machinery?"⁴⁰⁰ The validity of this question notwithstanding, Jackson knew he was unlikely to sustain women's interests indefinitely and needed to strike while he curried favor. Creating an official Women's Home Board would permanently divide the Foreign Board's support. As an additional perk, it would grant Jackson further oversight of funds intended for Alaska. Having spent years trying to convince women that a ladies home society was necessary, Jackson decided to proceed without their consent.

Early in 1878, Jackson conceived the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions. When he first promoted this organization is unknown, though a letter sent by Jackson ally Julia McNair Wright on March 19, 1878, featured this title as its heading.⁴⁰¹ Creating an unofficial women's board was the easy part. Jackson still had to find willing women to operate it. To accomplish this, Jackson sent out a series of letters to prominent

³⁹⁹ Ibid, 230.

⁴⁰⁰ T. M. Dickson to Sheldon Jackson, January 19, 1878, Ibid, 245-246.

⁴⁰¹ J. McNair Wright to Sheldon Jackson, March 19, 1878, Ibid, 60.

women requesting they serve as officers on his newly conceived home committee. The vast majority declined, with some expressing displeasure over his intentions. One responder declared, “I could not conscientiously advise the formation of two distinct societies. ... I must beg you not to give my name to the Nominating Committee.”⁴⁰² After rejecting Jackson’s offer another wrote, “I have tried to think of a name to give you to represent the Synod. I know of plenty of women that could do it but not one that is willing.”⁴⁰³ Even Julia McNair Wright, who frequently wrote for the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* and swooned over the merits of home mission work, chided Jackson after he volunteered her name without approval.⁴⁰⁴ While sympathetic to home mission work, most of the women approached by Jackson frowned upon his efforts to restrict their involvement in the foreign field.

Unmoved by the absence of popular support, Jackson continued to act on his own. On May 24, 1878, he organized an unsanctioned women’s meeting in Pittsburgh. The purpose of the gathering was to “consider the practicability of organizing a Woman’s Board of Home Missions.” Jackson was in attendance and his influence over the proceeding was evidenced by the second agenda item.

That, in addition to organizing a National Home Mission Society, a committee should be appointed to wait upon the “Ladies Board of Missions” and ask them, first to drop their Foreign Department, and second, if they are unwilling to drop their Foreign Department, then divide their Board of Managers into two departments, one having exclusive control of the Home, and the other of the Foreign Mission interests.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰² Julia B. Kendall to Sheldon Jackson, May 16, 1878, Ibid, 66-67.

⁴⁰³ Mrs. Arch McClure to Sheldon Jackson. May 9, 1878, Ibid, 63-64.

⁴⁰⁴ Julia McNair Wright to Sheldon Jackson, June 3, 1878, Ibid, 70-71.

⁴⁰⁵ Mrs. E. J. Paxton to Sheldon Jackson, May, Unknown date, 1878, Ibid, 73.

Concerned over how the Ladies Board of Missions would respond to such an ultimatum, Jackson's delegates voted against organizing for home missions, preferring to wait until potential conflict was mitigated.⁴⁰⁶ Ironically, the Ladies Board of Missions had been stout supporters of Jackson's Alaska campaign; it was only their sympathies toward the Foreign Board that needed to be purged.⁴⁰⁷ The meeting adjourned with nothing accomplished, and Jackson's constituents mused over the bleak outlook. One of the participants informed Jackson, "So many [women] are declining to serve that I fear our presence as a body will not be very formidable."⁴⁰⁸ Unfazed, Jackson ushered his constituents through a protracted political fight that concluded on December 12, 1878, with the inauguration of the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions.⁴⁰⁹ This would be an important milestone for Jackson; his plan to pry women from the grip of the Foreign Board had at last come to fruition. Officially, this new organization would operate under Secretary Kendall and the Home Board, but Jackson remained the *de facto* leader.⁴¹⁰ Despite being dismantled for political gain and ignored, the Ladies Board of Missions continued to raise money for missions in Alaska.⁴¹¹

Jackson at long last had a women's organization devoted exclusively to home missions; all that remained was to give them constant reasons to donate. To this end,

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, 74.

⁴⁰⁷ See *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, January 1879, in which Jackson acknowledged their commitment.

⁴⁰⁸ C. W. Scovel to Sheldon Jackson, June 24, 1878, Transcripts, 75.

⁴⁰⁹ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, February 1879.

⁴¹⁰ In addition to adopting the name that Jackson had planned all along, an inchoate Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions sought Jackson's input regarding the creation of their constitution. F. E. Haines to Sheldon Jackson, November 16, 1878, Transcripts, 14.

⁴¹¹ Julia M. Graham to Sheldon Jackson, March 10, 1879, Ibid, 131-132. Julia M. Graham to Sheldon Jackson, September 12, 1879, Ibid, 259. Mrs. E. B. Wardwell to Sheldon Jackson, January 25, 1879, Ibid, 86.

Jackson relied heavily on Alaska since it was the most popular mission within the Home Board collective. As a consequence, Alaska Native people were fated to be immoral barbarians for the remainder of Jackson's career. To supplement sensational articles written for newspapers, Jackson began publishing his Alaska accounts in magazines and journals. In November of 1879, Jackson wrote *Alaska and its Inhabitants*, which featured a number of accusations to include murder of the old and sick, the enslavement of women, fish worship and cannibalism.⁴¹² He claimed that in Southern Alaska women were "sent to the mines, while the husband lives in idleness at home on the wages of their immorality."⁴¹³ In August of 1880, Jackson delivered a lecture that was published in *The Chautauquan*. He baited his audience with the following preface: "I venture to say the center of Africa will not show degradation and superstition more dense and more fearful than is today to be found in these Christian United States in that north-west portion of our own so-called Christian land."⁴¹⁴ Jackson went on to divulge his usual allegations which included everything from "witches" who were "tortured and destroyed" to infants who were abandoned in the woods "to be torn in pieces by the wolves or the foxes."⁴¹⁵

Looking to impress upon his readers a deep understanding of indigenous culture, Jackson wrote *The Native Tribes of Alaska* in 1883.⁴¹⁶ Amidst varied assertions, Jackson described the Tinneh Indians as "great hunters" who challenged black bears with only a knife. He also charged them with practicing witchcraft, infanticide and polygamy, in

⁴¹² Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska and its Inhabitants* (n. p., 1879), 3, 5, 7, 10.

⁴¹³ Ibid, 7.

⁴¹⁴ Sheldon Jackson, "Alaska," *The Chautauquan* 1 (November, 1880): 72.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Sheldon Jackson, *The Native Tribes of Alaska* (New York, Phillips & Hunt, 1883).

which wives were “taken and discarded at pleasure.”⁴¹⁷ The Tlingit would fare no better as they were purported practitioners of gambling, slavery, witchcraft and polygamy.⁴¹⁸ Jackson declared that a Tlingit “husband buys his wife, frequently while a mere girl, from her parents. If she does not suit [him] she can be returned and the price refunded.”⁴¹⁹ He concluded that an education was necessary so that Alaska Natives might become “useful factors” in the development of the territory.⁴²⁰ Jackson’s plans were put on hiatus after setbacks forced the closure of Sitka’s mission school, which catered predominantly to the Tlingit. In response Jackson wrote *A Statement of Facts Concerning the Difficulties at Sitka, Alaska, in 1885*.⁴²¹ The problem was revealed to be white men who obstructed the school through legal challenges, though Jackson also acknowledged Native indifference. He warned that the school’s closure had already resulted in Alaska Natives returning to lives of immorality. Most notably, he cited prevailing instances of sex trafficking in which family members frequently sold their daughters into prostitution.⁴²²

Near the end of his life, Jackson remained committed to portraying Alaska Natives as barbarians. He spoke for the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance in 1896, with the lecture subsequently published as *Evangelization in Alaska*.⁴²³ Jackson’s message followed a presentation on foreign work in China and Japan which led him to begin his lecture with a cultural contrast: “They called your attention to a people of the

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, 123.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid, 125.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Ibid, 127.

⁴²¹ Sheldon Jackson, *A Statement of Facts Concerning the Difficulties at Sitka, Alaska, in 1885* (Washington D.C., Thomas McGill & Co., Law Printers, 1886).

⁴²² Ibid, 11.

⁴²³ Sheldon Jackson, *Evangelization in Alaska* (Lancaster, T.B. & H.B. Cochran, Printers, 1896).

highest heathen civilization, I to the lowest, to the semi-barbarism of Alaska.” During the course of his talk Jackson announced the dialogue he intended to use toward Alaska Natives who desired baptism, stating “Now, all you that are willing to give up your witchcraft and your sorcery and the worship of your fathers and are willing to stop stealing and swearing; you that are willing to give up drinking ... can come here next Sabbath and be baptized.”⁴²⁴ After conceiving a scheme to import reindeer for an alleged threat of starvation on Alaska’s North Slope, Jackson focused most of his attention on the Inupiat after 1890.⁴²⁵ In this regard, he published a series of articles detailing their characteristics and customs, highlighted by a 1905 piece titled *Our Barbarous Eskimos in Northern Alaska*.⁴²⁶ Jackson alleged that Inupiat had such an affinity for tobacco and alcohol that “[e]ven nursing babies are seen with a quid of tobacco in their mouths.”⁴²⁷ Additionally, he claimed that husband and wife swaps occurred in addition to polygamy, women were beaten to the point of committing suicide, witches were dismembered and burned, infant girls were sometime destroyed owing to their gender, and children were, at times, merely given away.⁴²⁸

Writing for magazines and journals allowed Jackson to appear academic, but the bulk of his efforts went toward periodicals. Jackson’s scrapbook collection is filled with random editorials that describe Alaska Native degradation. In reference to the Native

⁴²⁴ Ibid, 133.

⁴²⁵ Stewart, 386. Eskimo is not the preferred nomenclature. It is more accurate to differentiate by either Yupik or Inupiat.

⁴²⁶ Sheldon Jackson, “Our Barbarous Eskimos in Northern Alaska,” *The Metropolitan Magazine* 22 (June, 1905): 257-271. Other articles included, Sheldon Jackson, “The Eskimos of Alaska,” *The Chautauquan* 18 (Nov, 1893): 193-197. Sheldon Jackson, “The Eskimos of Alaska,” *The Chautauquan* 18 (Dec, 1893): 303-308. Sheldon Jackson, “The Arctic Eskimos of Alaska,” *The Church at Home and Abroad* 15 (Jan, 1894): 3-7.

⁴²⁷ Sheldon Jackson, *Our Barbarous Eskimos in Northern Alaska*, 266.

⁴²⁸ Ibid, 268-271.

girls housed in McFarland's Wrangell mission, Jackson wrote "the brightest girls in her school were liable, at any time, to be sold by their heathen mothers to the miners, for the basest of purposes."⁴²⁹ A similar segment announced: "Mothers offering to sell to the highest bidder, their daughters to lives of shame is a common sight in some of the villages of Alaska."⁴³⁰ Desiring a greater response from his female readers, Jackson implored them to look upon their own daughters and "have compassion upon these poor mothers whose love is turned into cruelty as they force their daughters into lives of sin."⁴³¹ Jackson concluded: "we hope there are many ladies who will feel it a privilege to contribute \$1, \$5, \$10, \$25 or \$50 – that there are some who will send checks for \$100, \$200 or \$500."⁴³² Throughout his many lectures and reports, the main point Jackson hoped to impress upon his audience, was "[t]he greater degradation comes on the women, as well as the greater cruelty."⁴³³

On an unknown date, likely in 1879, the Ladies Board of Missions entertained an address on Alaska from both Jackson and his guest Captain Ebenezer Morgan a seaman who operated out of the Pribilof Islands for the Alaska Commercial Company.⁴³⁴ Jackson recruited Morgan as an eye-witness source who would essentially affirm all of his sensational claims. Taking advantage of the situation, Jackson rehashed old accusations of polygamy, incest, infanticide, slavery, prostitution, widow-burning and devil worship. Morgan played his role by announcing, "I know of but one mistake [Jackson] makes. He

⁴²⁹ Sheldon Jackson, "Crazy to Learn," Scrapbook, 18.

⁴³⁰ Sheldon Jackson, no title, Ibid, 28.

⁴³¹ Sheldon Jackson, "A Christmas Offering for Alaska," Ibid, 21.

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Unknown author, "Lecture on Alaska Last Evening," Ibid, 79.

⁴³⁴ Unknown author, "Alaska: Its Natural Resources and Missionary Needs," Ibid, 83. Also, 122.

does not say enough. He has not told you one-half the degradation of those Northern Indians and I do not know where the suffering comes heavier than on the women.”⁴³⁵ During a separate solo speech, Jackson professed that Alaska Natives committed human sacrifices “offered to propitiate their evil deities.”⁴³⁶ He also claimed “[a]t the death of a chief the throats of perhaps a score of his wives are cut that he may have suitable attendants in the spirit world.”⁴³⁷ During a separate explanation of slave murder, Jackson was less profuse, stating only “one or more slave women are sometimes killed” to serve their master in the afterlife.⁴³⁸ Even non-slave women would find little peace in death, since, according to Jackson, “[a]mong some tribes the women are denied a burial and cast out as dead dogs.”⁴³⁹ Relentless in such claims, Jackson had no problem repeating the same allegations over and over, to ensure a sustained message.

Stories told by Jackson were popular enough that many were rephrased or recycled for print. Writing for the *Boston Advertiser*, Rev Joseph Cook informed readers that the “Alaskan mother not infrequently takes her female infant into the fields and fills its mouth with grass and leaves it to die.”⁴⁴⁰ An article from the *Christian Advocate* claimed that “[t]hirteen Indian mothers in Alaska confessed to a missionary that they had killed their infant girls to save them from the misery which they themselves suffered and

⁴³⁵ Sheldon Jackson, “Alaska: Corroborative Testimony,” *Ibid*, 18. Captain Morgan concluded by stating “[t]hese pictures our brother has given are not strong enough. You would blush that the human family could be brought so low.

⁴³⁶ Unknown author, “Dr. Jackson on Alaska,” *Ibid*, 97.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid*.

⁴³⁸ Sheldon Jackson, no title, *Ibid*, 30.

⁴³⁹ Sheldon Jackson, “Alaska,” *Ibid*, 66.

⁴⁴⁰ Joseph Cook, “Sale of Women in Alaska,” *Ibid*, 30. He also mentioned that “women are sold into slavery and other conditions to which death is preferable.”

which is the lot of all women in most of the Indian tribes of that great country.”⁴⁴¹ The *Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette* made a number of claims such as Alaska Native sons who kill their mothers and leave them for the dogs and Shaman rites in which they tear apart live dogs and eat them.⁴⁴² In an editorial titled “Alaska,” lawyer Josiah Copley wrote of the propensity of Alaska Natives to sell their daughters “caring but little what use the purchaser may make of them.”⁴⁴³ He also claimed that the women were “slaves and drudges,” often leading them to commit infanticide “rather than have them grow up to the wretched condition they themselves are in.”⁴⁴⁴

While Jackson preferred to talk about the miseries of being an indigenous female in Alaska, he did not shy from general accusations of barbarity. He described a scene in which a gray-haired, blind Native man “had himself torn with his teeth the half-putrid flesh from human corpses and eaten it to get the bad out of him, but in vain.”⁴⁴⁵ Jackson explained that, when building a house, a slave was murdered and placed under each post of out of superstition. Once completed “scores of slaves were butchered to show the power and wealth of the owner.”⁴⁴⁶ Every year it was alleged that Alaska Natives engaged in “wild drunken orgies, cannibal feasts and the torture of witches.”⁴⁴⁷ Jackson proclaimed that in the year 1876, an Alaska Native tribe “sacrificed two slaves to appease

⁴⁴¹ Unknown author, “Indian Women of Alaska,” Ibid, 47.

⁴⁴² Unknown author, “Discussion of Missionary Work by Missionary Laborers – The Work in Mexico, Utah and Alaska,” Ibid, 78.

⁴⁴³ Josiah Copley, “Alaska,” Ibid, 78-79.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid, 79.

⁴⁴⁵ Sheldon Jackson, “A Thousand Miles for Jesus,” Ibid, 68.

⁴⁴⁶ Sheldon Jackson, “A Canoe Voyage Off the Coast of Alaska,” Ibid, 107.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

the god of the glacier and stop its further encroachments.”⁴⁴⁸ Not just an isolated incident, Jackson warned “[d]oubtless human sacrifices are made time and time again in this section of the country that white men get no knowledge of.”⁴⁴⁹ In a far more random assessment of ignorance, Jackson stated that a chief burned stale berries and potatoes that their spirit may ascend to feed his deceased son, “for the father was still a heathen and knew no better.”⁴⁵⁰

Because of Alaska’s immense popularity, Jackson gradually shifted his full attention to the north but not before providing additional commentary about the Pueblos and the L. D. S. An article published in the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* declared that the Pueblo women of Zuni were “the most disgusting women I have ever met, in their appearance.”⁴⁵¹ Jackson claimed that “all, men, women and children [are] full of vermin.”⁴⁵² Another piece written “To the Ladies of the Presbyterian Church” elaborated on the intense workload women endured and requested a boarding school for them, thereby “lifting them up out of their degraded condition, that of a drudge.”⁴⁵³ To emphasize their superstitious nature, Jackson reported on a solar eclipse that purportedly led the panicked Pueblo to require all women to strip off their clothing and run in pairs.⁴⁵⁴ Much as they did previously, the local media looked upon Jackson’s reporting unfavorably. The newspaper *Thirty-Four* announced, “Rev. Sheldon Jackson, who could find no virtuous woman in New Mexico, has deservedly met with a second drubbing at

⁴⁴⁸ Sheldon Jackson, “Human Sacrifices in Alaska,” *Ibid*, 30.

⁴⁴⁹ Sheldon Jackson, “Alaska: A Lecture Delivered in the Amphitheater,” *Ibid*, 67.

⁴⁵⁰ Sheldon Jackson, no title, *Ibid*, 30.

⁴⁵¹ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, February, 1878.

⁴⁵² *Ibid*.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid*, August, 1878.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid*, September, 1878.

the hands of the Territorial press on his latest visit here.”⁴⁵⁵ In an editorial titled “That Clerical Fraud Again,” *The Arizona Silver Belt* accused Jackson of being “an acknowledged falsifier” and “the least charitable man of his profession.”⁴⁵⁶ They concluded that Jackson was a liar who spent “time in defamations of a sex.”⁴⁵⁷

At times, Jackson would merge his talks about Indians with Mormons, providing “a vivid picture of the condition of women” in both cases.⁴⁵⁸ Mormonism was considered to be just as barbarous as any Native American culture, if not worse. Jackson decried “Mormonism [as] one of the most heathenish and anti-Christ-like frauds on the face of the earth.”⁴⁵⁹ Despite his rigid bias, Jackson knew he had to approach Mormonism differently. While he had no problem defaming indigenous people in public, he was far more cautious when speaking about Mormons. *The Syracuse Standard* reported that Jackson “lectured twice on Alaska and Utah and then he requested that his lecture on the Mormons not be published for prudent reasons in case he should return to Utah.”⁴⁶⁰ A letter Jackson received from a female supporter confirmed his anti-Mormon message and desire for secrecy.

Your letter concerning the moral condition of the people in Utah was read before the Board of the Brooklyn Woman’s Home and Foreign Missionary Society in secret conclave. It presents a most frightful picture of degradation and barbarity which can scarcely find a parallel, even in heathen countries.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁵ *Thirty-Four*, November 26, 1879.

⁴⁵⁶ *The Arizona Silver Belt*, April 9, 1881.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁸ *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette*, October 23, 1880.

⁴⁵⁹ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, December, 1878.

⁴⁶⁰ *The Syracuse Standard*, August 3, 1880.

⁴⁶¹ Mrs. Wm. Brooks to Sheldon Jackson, May 8, 1877, Transcripts, 58.

Jackson was not always successful at keeping his talks private. The press reported on a lecture in which Jackson alleged that tens of thousands of Christians would be murdered since “one hundred and fifty thousand Mormons are preparing for a rebellion founded on their fanaticism.”⁴⁶² It was surmised that Jackson was merely pandering since he closed his speech by stating, “[o]nly Christian schools can eradicate the evil and these cannot be maintained without money.”⁴⁶³ Another reported Jackson claim saw a Mormon man slit his wife’s throat in front of their children only to be rewarded by the church for saving her soul.⁴⁶⁴ *The Salt Lake Herald* chided Jackson’s “begging for money,” stating if he “didn’t know that he was deliberately and maliciously lying when he uttered the above, he is a downright fool.”⁴⁶⁵

Despite Jackson’s reliance on fabrications, it is important to acknowledge that not all of his sensational claims can be considered complete lies; some of his cultural approximations amounted to exaggerations or half-truths. It was a common tactic for Jackson to make fringe examples appear representative of an entire culture. Debating the merits of Jackson’s use of half-truths is better saved for another analysis. What remains important is his deliberate manipulation of second-hand data to engage the moral sensibilities of women. A survey of Jackson’s Alaska allegations would find them to be predominantly travesties committed by indigenous men against indigenous women. Alaska Native women were readily victimized in order to compel a monetary response

⁴⁶² *The Salt Lake Herald*, August 8, 1883.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid, April 2, 1884.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

from Christian women. Jackson was lying for sake of money, and he successfully negated any need for evidence by appealing to prejudice and racist impulses.

Once they began operating in Alaska, Jackson's colleagues did not always uphold his views on Alaska Native culture. Writing from Haines, Reverend Eugene S. Willard indicated that after three months he witnessed no signs of witchcraft, nor did he have any trouble with alcohol.⁴⁶⁶ Commissioned to join Amanda McFarland in Wrangell, Reverend S. Hall Young endorsed Jackson's accounts of polygamy, slavery and drunkenness among Alaska Natives.⁴⁶⁷ However, he also claimed the greatest sign of hope "was the social status of the native women. If ever in any heathen country women's rights prevailed, it was in Alaska."⁴⁶⁸ Young expressed surprise over this reality. He claimed "[t]his was brought home to me in a startling way soon after I reached Fort Wrangell. ... the women more often tyrannized over their husbands than the reverse."⁴⁶⁹ Writing a similar evaluation, based on his experience in Alaska and assistance with Presbyterian missions, Commander L. A. Beardslee professed that Alaska Natives "are industrious, treat their women well and take good care of their children. The women have quite a high position and influence in the household."⁴⁷⁰ Beardslee's oppositional views about Alaska drew the ire of Jackson, who claimed his opinions were a hindrance to progress.⁴⁷¹

Jackson was likely more congenial with his close friend John G. Brady, who also wrote him a critique regarding the stature of Native women by stating, "You go too far. The

⁴⁶⁶ Eugene S. Willard, "Alaska," Scrapbook, 126-127.

⁴⁶⁷ Young, 96.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid, 96, 99.

⁴⁷⁰ L. A. Beardslee, "North-West Possessions: The Climate, Soil and Products of Alaska," Ibid, p. 124. G. W. Lyons, "Sitka, Alaska," Ibid, 7-8. Linda Austin, "Sitka, Alaska," Ibid, 6.

⁴⁷¹ Commander L. A. Beardslee to Sheldon Jackson, December 10, 1879, Transcripts, 307-308.

woman here enjoys a high position among her people. You are inclined I think to be very strong in your statements.”⁴⁷²

Honesty from Jackson’s constituents would have little bearing on his fundraising capabilities thanks to female allies who shared his vision of degradation and squalor. Maggie Dunbar spoke to the Ladies Board about Native women and children were “burned and cut in pieces.”⁴⁷³ She claimed an old woman was tied to a tree, fed sea water and then hacked “to death with knives.”⁴⁷⁴ In a story of slavery and infanticide, Julia McNair Wright announced that “Alaska women are outcast and degraded. They have no idea of honor or purity or of marriage law and sanctity.”⁴⁷⁵ Mrs. Eugene S. Willard wrote about slavery and witchcraft, while Linda Austin declared that “Indians, even the very oldest, are like children; you have to show them how to do everything, even to keeping clean.”⁴⁷⁶ In “A Lady’s Visit to Alaska,” an unknown author described a scenic walk through Wrangell.⁴⁷⁷ During the course of this stroll, a “squaw” was asked for directions at which point “[s]he raised her grimy paw and pointed to a hut nearby.”⁴⁷⁸ Accounts of this nature were, in all likelihood, cajoled. Housed within the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, is a letter written by a Wrangell fisherman known only as Will.⁴⁷⁹ Writing to his brother in 1889, Will claimed “there are a number of writers who came up her last summer, the majority were ladies, they would butten hole

⁴⁷² John G. Brady to Sheldon Jackson, July 12, 1880, Ibid, 229.

⁴⁷³ Unknown author, “Witchcraft in Alaska,” Scrapbook, 91.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Julia McNair Wright, “A Christmas Gift to the Savior,” Ibid, 2.

⁴⁷⁶ Mrs. Eugene S. Willard, “Sitka, Alaska,” Ibid, 37. Unknown author, “Alaska as a Missionary Field,” Ibid, 19.

⁴⁷⁷ Unknown author, “A Lady’s Visit to Alaska,” Ibid, 15.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Will to Dear Sam, February 16, 1889, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

the first man they came across & try to pump him all about the Indians & of course they would get stuffed full of lies [sic].”⁴⁸⁰ Will also stated “It is true Alaska is not a moral place by a long shot, but it is not half so bad as it is painted.”⁴⁸¹ Regardless, the efforts of select Presbyterian women solidified Jackson’s message that Alaska Native people were beasts needing to be saved.

In the fall of 1888, affluent churchwoman E. B. Voorhees made a trip to Southeast Alaska and reported on her experience after returning to New York. Jackson subsequently had the entire account published and labeled “For Private Circulation Among Christian Women.”⁴⁸² This twenty-four page booklet was filled with outrageous claims that described “a perfect inferno of crime and torture where helpless women and mere children are being sacrificed and gradually exterminated.”⁴⁸³ Voorhees described a horrific scene of wholesale rape in which white men deliberately fed Alaska Natives rum and then carried the drunken men away. The white men then returned to the women and Voorhees assured readers “[n]o beastly orgie ever conceived could surpass it [sic].”⁴⁸⁴ She also elaborated upon an incident in which soldiers kidnapped, raped, disfigured and then caged a fifteen year old Native girl, leaving her “a mess of rags, filth and corruption.”⁴⁸⁵ Voorhees acknowledged a subsequent denial from the military, who

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² Sheldon Jackson, *Condition of Indian Women and Girls in Portions of Alaska: As Seen by Different Eyes and Gleaned from Different Sources* (n.p., 1889).

⁴⁸³ Ibid, 3.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid, 5.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid, 4.

accused of her lying since the Army had not resided in Alaska since 1877.⁴⁸⁶ She responded, “I earnestly wish that I had exaggerated my statements, but every word is true and there is worse, necessarily, left unsaid.”⁴⁸⁷ The remainder of Voorhees’ article was spent restating most of Jackson’s previous accusations, albeit in a highly dramatic fashion.

In addition to the Army’s dismay over Voorhees statements, the media also criticized her since she included white people in her proclamations of barbarity. In 1890 the Alaska Free Press referenced Voorhees article stating that “white settlers have been charged with perpetrating crimes against the natives even as heinous [as] and more brutish than the traditionary ones of this people, for no other possible cause than to awaken sympathy in the church and to secure appropriations for schools and missions [sic].”⁴⁸⁸ The article also maligned Jackson for statements he made. The Alaska Free Press claimed:

It seems to us that not only Dr. Jackson, but many others representing Christian societies ... have adopted a very queer method in behalf of advancing the cause of Christianity ... They, in their so-called arguments and pleas for schools and missions, would have the Government and the Church believe that the most heathenish of tribal laws and customs, which tradition speaks of as existing among the tribes long years ago, and which were buried with the people who observed them, as still existing to this day.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁶ Hinckley claimed that Voorhees was actually referring to marines who were in Wrangell, but he provided no citation for verification. *The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson*, 87.

⁴⁸⁷ Sheldon Jackson, *Condition of Indian Women and Girls in Portions of Alaska*, 8.

⁴⁸⁸ Unknown author, “Alaska Free Press, Juneau Alaska, Nov. 22, 1890,” Scrapbook, 96.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

Jackson responded by blaming the media for their coverage. He also went on “to say that such customs were reported to exist in ages past, but that the establishment of missions among the people was fast eradicating these heathenish customs.”⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

POLITICAL MOTIVATIONS

Only two months after learning the full details of Jackson's fateful trip to Wrangell, the Home Board sent a letter to the United States Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz informing him of the Wrangell mission's establishment.⁴⁹¹ Their opportunistic purpose was to secure federal appropriations in support of Presbyterian mission schools, and to do so they made Jackson's actions in Alaska appear sanctioned. As a result, the Home Board inadvertently portrayed Jackson as Alaska's founding missionary, and he was able to use this association to his advantage.⁴⁹² Calling in favors, Jackson had friends and associates write letters of introduction to government officials indicating that Jackson desired to speak with them.⁴⁹³ In one instance it was revealed that Jackson was giving "interesting talks on Alaska" and that he was available to provide one.⁴⁹⁴ Whatever Jackson was planning, he wanted to speak with high ranking government officials. A response to one of his petitions stated, "At the earliest opportunity I will call the attention of the President and of the Secretary of the Interior to the subject of your letter."⁴⁹⁵ Creating interest in Alaska for federal aid was a likely objective, but Jackson had another purpose. On December 17, 1878, Colorado Governor John L. Routt wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz requesting that he grant Jackson an audience

⁴⁹¹ Henry Kendall, Cyrus Dickson to Hon. And Dear Sir, December 10, 1877, Transcripts, 191.

⁴⁹² If it was Kendall's idea to write the government it is possible this was done deliberately.

⁴⁹³ Wm. R. Janewar to Senator Theo. F. Randolph, January 14, 1878, Transcripts, p. 243. John Eaton to Hon. Horatio King, January 14, 1878, Ibid, p. 244. Wm. N. Mitchell to Hone. John Sherman, January 29, 1879, Ibid, 89.

⁴⁹⁴ John Eaton to Hon. Horatio King, January 14, 1878, Ibid, 244.

⁴⁹⁵ Stanley Matthews to Dear Sir, December 20, 1878, Ibid, 45.

to hear his plan for Alaska.⁴⁹⁶ Routt elaborated on Jackson's "success" with the Pueblo and concluded by urging the appointment of Jackson as commissioner for schools in Alaska.⁴⁹⁷

After only a three day visit to Wrangell, Jackson was posturing to become a federally appointed agent to Alaska. His reason for haste is not altogether clear, since Jackson knew very little about the territory and his experience establishing schools was limited at best. However, there was at least one aspect of a federal commission that Jackson undoubtedly found appealing; it would grant him jurisdiction over all mission schools in Alaska. This would essentially override the Home Board's mandate to preclude him and supersede Lindsley in the process. On January 28, 1879, Jackson wrote the United States Secretary of the Treasury about a planned return trip to Alaska as part of a commission, calling it one of "national importance."⁴⁹⁸ Jackson wanted the Secretary to ask the President to ask Jackson for an official report "as the basis of Congressional action with reference to Alaska."⁴⁹⁹ This political maneuver was interrupted after the Home Board voted to block Jackson's involvement in Alaska. As part of his rebuttal, Jackson claimed that a trip to Alaska would only be a "vacation" for him.⁵⁰⁰ He also explained how he and his wife urgently needed a vacation for their health according to their family physician.⁵⁰¹ The Home Board ultimately succumbed to Jackson's request and granted him a two month Alaska vacation knowing that it would be taken in concert

⁴⁹⁶ John L. Routt to Hon. Carl Schurz, December 17, 1878, Ibid, 38.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Sheldon Jackson to Hon. John Sherman, January 28, 1879, Ibid, 88.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Sheldon Jackson to Dear Brother, February 14, 1879, Ibid, 95.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

with their official commission.⁵⁰² Jackson proceeded as planned all along and professed to the government that he had been sent in the interest of schools.⁵⁰³

There is no evidence to suggest that Jackson had simply fallen in love with Alaska and its people, rather, he appeared obsessed with seizing administrative control. In December of 1879 Jackson tried to capitalize on Alaska's jurisdictional confusion by having a colleague file a motion that would attach the territory to the Presbytery of Puget Sound.⁵⁰⁴ The motion failed, allegedly because of Lindsley's interference. However, a resolution was passed to "thank" Jackson for his labors in Alaska and request that the Home Board "send him to Washington [D. C.] this coming winter to secure money for Indian schools in Alaska."⁵⁰⁵ Jackson still planned for a political takeover, but he had not given hope of finding a jurisdictional loophole. Thompson wrote a letter to Kendall stating his hope that enough missionaries would be sent to Alaska "to make a new Presbytery there."⁵⁰⁶ Jackson recruited S. Hall Young and G. W. Lyons to join him in petitioning the 1880 General Assembly to make Alaska its own Presbytery.⁵⁰⁷ The Board ruled that Alaska did not have enough resident ministers to warrant a Presbytery, so Jackson asked for the territory to be attached to the Presbytery of Puget Sound.⁵⁰⁸ Lindsley and the Presbytery of Oregon filed a counter request to keep Alaska attached to the Synod of Columbia, and the 1881 General Assembly ultimately ruled in their favor.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰² O. E. Boyd to Sheldon Jackson, n.d., Ibid, 97.

⁵⁰³ Sheldon Jackson to Honorable and dear sir, January 24, 1880, Ibid, 24.

⁵⁰⁴ J. R. Thompson to Sheldon Jackson, December 18, 1879, Ibid, 321-322.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid, 322. Also, J. R. Thompson to Sheldon Jackson, January 3, 1880, Ibid, 6.

⁵⁰⁶ J. R. Thompson, January 20, 1880, Ibid, 18-19.

⁵⁰⁷ Sheldon Jackson, *The Presbyterian Church in Alaska*, 8.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

As a consequence of his obsession with Alaska, Jackson began to neglect his regular duties, leading his constituents to protest. A colleague wrote Jackson in dismay: “Our work in [Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and Idaho] is half thrown away in consequence of having no buildings to work in. We need new missionaries and more teachers. Where’s the reason of sinking money in Alaska when so many important fields right in the heart of the country are unsupplied?”⁵¹⁰ Even Jackson’s female supporters cautiously implored him to consider the financial consequences of his new obsession. Julia Graham warned him, “Alaska has diverted considerably from New Mexico.”⁵¹¹ F. E. Haines bluntly stated, “I can not help thinking that perhaps Fort Wrangle is being oversupplied [sic].”⁵¹² Given the circumstances, Haines’ evaluation was accurate, but Jackson wanted to continue riding the wave of enthusiasm for Alaska. He could have used Sitka as a platform for fundraising after Fannie Kellogg arrived there to commence with mission work on April 11, 1878.⁵¹³ However, Kellogg was Lindsley’s niece, and Jackson was not inclined to aid his rival. Instead, Jackson conceived of a mission to Kodiak despite having never been there.⁵¹⁴ He made a dramatic plea for the city and collected donations throughout 1879, but Jackson had no authority to establish a new mission.⁵¹⁵ To get around this problem he instructed the newly established Woman’s Executive Committee of Home Missions to bring the matter of a Kodiak mission before

⁵¹⁰ Robert G. McNiece to Sheldon Jackson, February 14, 1879, Transcripts, 108.

⁵¹¹ Julia M. Graham to Sheldon Jackson, April 4, 1879, Ibid, 179.

⁵¹² F. E. Haines to Sheldon Jackson, September 29, 1879, Ibid, 264.

⁵¹³ Amanda McFarland to Sheldon Jackson, March 26, 1878, Ibid, 292.

⁵¹⁴ Sheldon Jackson to Hon. John Sherman, January 29, 1879, Ibid, 89.

⁵¹⁵ M. Fanny Dodd to Sheldon Jackson, May 9, 1879, Ibid, 213.

the Home Board.⁵¹⁶ For reasons, unknown Jackson's plan fizzled, but he nevertheless continued to fundraise on behalf of Kodiak.⁵¹⁷

While Jackson raised funds for a city he had never seen and for a mission that never came to fruition, he lost track of other obligations. In June of 1879 Haines reminded Jackson of his promise to write an article for a Navajo mission, though three months later she had to remind him again.⁵¹⁸ Earlier in the year, a colleague warned Jackson that his work among the Navajo was in jeopardy since the Home Board declined sponsorship.⁵¹⁹ When Jackson finally opted to write a short article on the Navajo in the October issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* he made it an informational piece only with no plea for money.⁵²⁰ Jackson's disinterest in the Navajo is hardly surprising considering his lack of involvement to begin with. However, Jackson was also gradually removing himself from work with the Pueblo. In confirmation of previous warnings the mission at Jemez Pueblo beseeched Jackson: "You know how our little band in New Mexico is struggling."⁵²¹ By 1881 Jackson's already limited interest in indigenous people became exclusive to the inhabitants of Alaska, though this was not entirely by choice.

After ignoring the counsel of his colleagues, Jackson experienced backlash as a result of his continued preference for meddling in Alaska. On December 15, 1879, Jackson received a letter from New Mexico informing him that the Presbytery of Santa

⁵¹⁶ F. E. Haines to Sheldon Jackson, May 8, 1879, Ibid, 215. F. E. Haines to Sheldon Jackson, May 12, 1879, Ibid, 218.

⁵¹⁷ M. E. Boyd to Sheldon Jackson, October 31, 1879, Ibid, 189. John F. Edgar to Sheldon Jackson, November 21, 1879, Ibid, 295. Robert Davis to Sheldon Jackson, December 11, 1879, Ibid, 308.

⁵¹⁸ F. E. Haines to Sheldon Jackson, June 28, 1879, Ibid, 248.

⁵¹⁹ A. H. Donaldson to Sheldon Jackson, March 31, 1879, Ibid, 172.

⁵²⁰ *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, October 1878.

⁵²¹ John Shields to Sheldon Jackson, February 10, 1880, Transcripts, 42.

Fe met to discuss “the propriety” of appointing Jackson as New Mexico’s missionary since he had “neglected” missionary interests in the territory.⁵²² The letter went on to indicate that there was no ill-intent; they merely believed that Jackson’s jurisdiction was too vast for him to do an efficient job in each locale, and “this seemed to be the opinion of the whole Presbytery.”⁵²³ The root of their concern was conveyed in a proclamation that stated “the souls of the people in New Mexico [are] as precious as the souls of the people of Alaska, Utah and other missionary fields.”⁵²⁴ Unfortunately for Jackson, New Mexico would not be the only territory seeking a break from his services. Two months later the Presbytery of Montana sent a letter to the Home Board informing them that they were “strongly and unanimously opposed to having the Rev. Sheldon Jackson ... devote any part of his time or attention to working within the bounds of this Presbytery.”⁵²⁵ They went on to cite repeated instances of neglect and fraudulent church creation, in addition to false promises and mischief making.⁵²⁶ The consequences of Jackson’s preference for church quantity over quality had finally caught up with him. The Presbytery of Montana claimed that Jackson created a church with two members in which one was a man who was in town only temporarily and the other was a Methodist woman who had a fight with her preacher. This congregation and several other churches created by Jackson quickly disappeared.

The fallout from this uprising saw Jackson step down from his ambiguous role, and his vast ecclesial empire divided amongst other missionaries. He retained the title of

⁵²² R. W. and Sadie H. Hall to Sheldon Jackson, December 15, 1879, Ibid, 313-314.

⁵²³ Ibid, 314.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ M. L. Cook, C. L. Richards to Drs. Kendall and Dickson, February 21, 1880, Ibid, 49.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

“missionary,” but his superintendence was over and he moved his family to New York City for a desk job in which he would oversee the transfer of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* to the Woman’s Executive Committee of Home Missions.⁵²⁷ With few options left, Jackson kept his eye on Alaska. In 1883 he received a contract from the United States Postal Service to supply four locations in Southeast Alaska with mail.⁵²⁸ Although not the government position he originally wanted, it allowed him to get a foot in the door, and he subsequently relocated to Washington D.C. According to Hinckley, Jackson’s lobbying resulted in his friend and fellow Presbyterian Senator Benjamin Harrison submitting a bill in 1883 that would provide a twenty-five thousand dollar allotment for Alaska education in addition to a civil government.⁵²⁹ Before the bill was approved on May 17, 1884, Jackson had already appointed himself as the United States General Agent of Education in Alaska.⁵³⁰ This position was not officially awarded to Jackson until April 11, 1885 and yet under the pretense of this authority, he had already travelled to Sitka on March 11, to assume charge of its Indian school.⁵³¹ Jackson had finally gained control of Alaska.

⁵²⁷ Stewart, 327.

⁵²⁸ Ibid, 338.

⁵²⁹ Ted Hinckley, “Sheldon Jackson and Benjamin Harrison: Presbyterians and the Administration of Alaska,” *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 54 (April, 1963): 70.

⁵³⁰ Jackson used the title in a letter addressed to Captain L. G. Shepard of the Treasury Department. Sheldon Jackson to Captain L. G. Shepard, April 30, 1884, Transcripts, 347.

⁵³¹ Stewart, 344. Jackson, *A Statement of Facts Concerning the Difficulties at Sitka, Alaska, in 1885*, 15.

CONCLUSION

On November 2, 1881, Jackson was introduced to President Chester Arthur as “the Napoleon of the Presbyterian Church in the Territories.”⁵³² This characterization was likely in reference to Jackson’s diminutive height and megalomaniacal sensibilities, but such an analogy is accurate for another reason. In *Blundering to Glory*, Owen Connelly argued that Napoleon’s success in battle owed to spontaneous adaptation as opposed to premeditated planning. In essence, Napoleon turned blunders into victories through persistence. Likewise, Jackson also threw out the rulebook in his battle to expand Presbyterianism. He simply created churches wherever he could, however he could. Many expired quickly after being conceived in haste, but rather than dwell on such blunders, Jackson simply persisted so that his successes outnumbered his failures. But whereas Napoleon needed soldiers to succeed, Jackson required capital. Playing by the rules meant diminished expenditures, so Jackson chose to raise his own funds primarily through lies and exaggerations directed toward women. This sharp correlation evolved so that Jackson’s ability to thrive hinged on the support of his female constituents. As a result, Jackson needed to constantly create dramatic reasons for women to continue donating, and Alaska Native people tragically filled this void.

In New Mexico and Utah, Jackson successfully raised money for missions by lying about the Pueblo and the Mormons. He was attacked by the media for doing so, and in neither state is he remembered as a benevolent humanitarian. Jackson used the same approach in Alaska, except that his allegations were even more abundant and sensational.

⁵³² John Eaton to Sheldon Jackson, November 2, 1881, Transcripts, 287.

However, unlike New Mexico and Utah, Jackson's outlandish claims made him not only a reformer but an expert on the territory. Having spent very little time in Alaska, Jackson's alleged expertise was gleaned almost entirely from books, and there were not many sources available on this subject. Why is Jackson praised for using the same methods in Alaska that saw him maligned in Utah and New Mexico? The answer is ignorance. Americans knew nothing about the northern land; to them it appeared as an undeveloped frontier oasis. Thus, when Jackson portrayed Alaska Native people as being barbarians, untouched by time, people were inclined to believe him. If the indigenous people in Alaska were truly unfettered brutes, then it naturally followed that Jackson was a humanitarian, doing his part to civilize them. But this is an erroneous summation since Alaska Native people were miscast as ignorant monsters by Jackson. He created a solution for a host of problems that did not exist.

Much like his approach to church expansion, Jackson was not concerned by the potential failure of Indian missions. It was more important that he continue to create them in hope of effectuation. However, this strategy was not effective since the criterion for success was far more complicated. When propagating churches, progress was measured by the spread of Presbyterianism through conversion. But Indian missions required more than just Christianization, there was also an expectation that indigenous people become "civilized." As a result of Jackson's unrelenting propaganda, Alaska Native people were fated never to achieve civilized stature under his watch. Whether converted or not, Jackson continued to portray Alaska Native people as immoral monsters throughout his career. In 1903, Jackson wrote about the modest results of his work claiming that around

five or ten thousand Alaska Natives were “brought more or less under Gospel influences.”⁵³³ From a religious perspective Jackson was highly successful at spreading Christianity. He also created awareness to circumstances in Alaska and procured a substantial amount of money for the territory. Regardless, it should not be overlooked that Jackson’s achievements hinged on lies about Alaska Native people and the manipulation of Christian women.

⁵³³ Sheldon Jackson , *What Missionaries Have Done for Alaska* (New York, Funk & Wagnalis Co., 1903), 500.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Collections

Alaska Collection. University of Michigan.

Alaska Historical Collections. Alaska State Library.

Lindsley-Ross Family Papers 1779-1959. Oregon Historical Society.

Sheldon Jackson Papers 1869-1897. Montana Historical Society Library.

The Sheldon Jackson Collection. University of Alaska Fairbanks.

The Sheldon Jackson Manuscript Collection. Presbyterian Historical Society.

Newspapers

Alaska Herald

Cedar Rapids Times.

Chester Daily Times

Fort Wayne Daily Gazette

Nebraska Advertiser.

Rocky Mountain Presbyterian.

Santa Fe New Mexican.

The Arizona Citizen.

The Arizona Silver Belt

The Catholic Sentinel

The Occident

The Salt Lake Daily Tribune

The Sedalia Weekly Bazoo.

The Syracuse Standard

Thirty-Four

Western Reserve Chronicle.

Books

Balmer, Randall and John Fitzmier. *The Presbyterians* Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1875.

Bender, Norman J. *Winning the West for Christ: Sheldon Jackson and Presbyterianism on the Rocky Mountain Frontier, 1869-1880*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Boyd , Lois A. and R. Douglas Brackenridge. *Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of a Quest for Status*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983.

Brady, Elizabeth Patton. *Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D.D.: A Progressive Missionary*. New York: Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1911.

Cather, Robert G. *The Origin and Objects of the Systematic Beneficence Society*. London: James Nisbet & Co, 1862.

Coleman, Michael C. *Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes toward American Indians, 1837-1893*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985.

Collis, Septima M. *A Woman's Trip to Alaska*. New York: Cassell Publishing Company, 1890.

Cox, James L. *The Impact of Christian Missions on Indigenous Cultures: The "Real People" and the Unreal Gospel*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991.

- Craig, Robert M. *Our Mexicans*. New York: The Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1904.
- Crosby, Thomas. *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship*. Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1914.
- Dall, William H. *Alaska and its Resources*. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1870.
- DeArmond, R. N. *Lady Franklin Visits Sitka, Alaska: The Journal of Sophia Cracroft Sir John Franklin's Niece*. Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society, 1981.
- Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Doyle, Sherman H. *Presbyterian Home Missions*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1902.
- Eaton, S. J. M. *Memorial of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Cyrus Dickson D. D. Late Secretary of the Board of Home Missions*. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1882.
- Faris, John T. *The Alaskan Pathfinder: The Story of Sheldon Jackson for Boys*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1913.
- Fritz, Henry E. *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890*. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Haycox, Stephen and Mary Childers Mangusso, eds. *An Alaska Anthology: Interpreting the Past*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996.
- Hearne, Samuel, Richard Glover, ed. *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1958.
- Hoxie, Frederick E. *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- Huggins, Eli Lundy, Richard A. Pierce, ed. *Kodiak and Afognak Life, 1868-1870*. Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1981.
- Hulbert, Winifred. *Sheldon Jackson: The Bishop of All Beyond*. New York: Friendship Press, 1983.

Jackson, Sheldon. *A Statement of Facts Concerning the Difficulties at Sitka, Alaska, in 1885*. Washington D. C.: Thomas McGill & Co., Law Printers, 1886.

_____. *Alaska and its Inhabitants*. n.p., 1879.

_____. *Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1880.

_____. *Alaska: Fort Wrangell*. New York: Ladies Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1880.

_____. *Condition of Indian Women and Girls in Portions of Alaska: As Seen by Different Eyes and Gleaned from Different Sources*. n.p., 1889.

_____. *Education and Reindeer in Alaska*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

_____. *Evangelization in Alaska*. Lancaster: T. B. & H. B. Cochran, Printers, 1896.

_____. *Facts about Alaska: Its People, Villages, Missions, Schools*. New York: Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1894.

_____. *The Native Tribes of Alaska*. New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1883.

_____. *The Presbyterian Church in Alaska: An Official Sketch of its Rise and Progress, 1877-1884*. Washington DC: Press of Thomas McGill, 1886.

_____. *What Missionaries Have Done for Alaska*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1903.

_____. *Work Among Natives in Alaska*. Boston: J. Stillman Smith, 1895.

Kan, Sergei. *Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.

Keller, Robert H., Jr. *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Lamb, W. Kaye, ed. *The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

- Laufe, Abe, ed. *An Army Doctor's Wife on the Frontier*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962.
- Lindsley, Aaron Ladner. *Sketches of an Excursion to Southern Alaska*. Portland: Library of Congress, 1881.
- Lazell, J. Arthur. *Alaskan Apostle: The Life Story of Sheldon Jackson*. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1960.
- Leonard, Joseph A. *History of Olmsted County Minnesota*. Chicago: Goodspeed Historical Association, 1910.
- McClintock, Eva. *Life in Alaska: Letters of Mrs. Eugene S. Willard*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1884.
- Mitchell, Donald Craig. *Sold American: The Story of Alaska Natives and their Land, 1867-1959*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997.
- Murray, Peter. *The Devil and Mr. Duncan*. Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1985.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.
- _____. *The Churches and Indian Schools, 1888-1912*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.
- Ross, J. Thorburn. *Aaron Ladner Lindsley: Founder of Alaska Missions and Leader of Other Great Enterprises in the Northwest*. n.p., 1910.
- Steckler, Gerald G. *Charles John Seghers Priest and Bishop in the Pacific Northwest: A Biography*. Fairfield: Ye Galleon Press, 1986.
- Stein, Gary. ed. *Education in Alaska's Past*. Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society, 1982.
- Stewart, Robert Laird. *Sheldon Jackson, Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908.
- Sullivan, May Kellogg. *A Woman Who Went to Alaska*. Boston: James H. Earle & Company, 1902.
- Tower, Elizabeth A. *Reading Religion Reindeer: Sheldon Jackson's Legacy to Alaska*. Anchorage: Elizabeth A. Tower, 1988.

Unknown author. *A Memorial Booklet of Sheldon Jackson Presbytery in the State of Minnesota*. Minnesota: n.p., 1976.

Unknown author. *Historical Sketches of the Missions Under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*. Philadelphia: Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886.

Unknown author. *History of Winona, Olmsted, and Dodge Counties together Biographical Matter, Statistics, Etc.* Chicago: H. H. Hill and Company, Publishers, 1884.

Unknown author. *The Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America*. New York: Mission House, 1870.

Verdesi, Elizabeth Howell. *In But Still Out: Women in the Church*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976.

Weigle, Luther A. *American Idealism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928.

Wright, Julia McNair. *Among the Alaskans*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1883.

Young, S. Hall. *Hall Young of Alaska: An Autobiography*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1927.

Dissertations

Hinckley, Ted. 1961. The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson, 1877-1890. PhD diss., Indiana University.

Krivonosov, Alexander. 2008. Where East Meets West: A Landscape of Familiar Strangers, 1794-1898. PhD diss., The University of New Mexico.

Articles

Bailey, Alvin K. 1948. "Sheldon Jackson: Planter of Churches." *Journal of The Presbyterian Historical Society* 26 (September, 1948): 129-148.

- Eaton, John. "Sheldon Jackson: Alaska's Apostle and Pioneer." *The Review of Reviews: An International Magazine* 13 (June, 1896): 691-696.
- Haycox, Stephen. "Sheldon Jackson in Historical Perspective: Alaska Native Schools and Mission Contracts, 1885-1894." *Pacific Historian* 28 (Spring): 18-28.
- Hinckley, Ted. "Sheldon Jackson and Benjamin Harrison: Presbyterians and the Administration of Alaska." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 54 (April, 1963): 66-74.
- _____. "Sheldon Jackson as Preserver of Alaska's Native Culture." *Pacific Historical Review* 33 (November, 1964): 411-424.
- _____. "Sheldon Jackson: Gilded Age Apostle." *Journal of the West* 23 (January, 1984): 16-25.
- _____. "Sheldon Jackson: Presbyterian Lobbyist for the Great Land of Alaska." *Journal of Presbyterian History* 40 (March, 1962): 3-23.
- _____. "The Presbyterian Leadership in Pioneer Alaska." *The Journal of American History* 52 (March, 1966): 742-756.
- Holt, William Sylvester. "Beginning of Mission Work in Alaska by the Presbyterian Church." *The Washington Historical Quarterly* 2 (April, 1920): 89-93.
- Jackson, Sheldon. "A Story of Early Home Mission Work." *The Assembly Herald* 10 (January, 1904): 415-419.
- _____. "Alaska." *The Chautauquan* 1 (November, 1880): 70-75.
- _____. "Alaska and its Missions." *The Methodist Review of Missions* (June, 1896): 697-702.
- _____. "An Expedition of Inquiry to Alaska." *Our Day* 18 (January, 1898): 13-17.
- _____. "New Mexico." *The Chautauquan* 3 (March, 1883): 327-329.
- _____. "Our Barbarous Eskimos in Northern Alaska." *The Metropolitan Magazine* 22 (June, 1905): 257-271.
- _____. "The Arctic Eskimos of Alaska." *The Church at Home and Abroad* 15 (January, 1894): 3-7.

_____. "The Eskimos of Alaska." *The Chautauquan* 18 (November, 1893): 193-197.

_____. "The Eskimos of Alaska." *The Chautauquan* 18 (December, 1893): 303-308.

Robinson, A. B. "New Mexico." *Presbyterian Home Missionary* 15 (September, 1886): 204-206.

Periodicals Other Than Newspapers

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

The Presbyterian Monthly Record.

Website

Unknown author, "Top 10 Alaskans"
http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1869388_1869390_1869415,00.html (Accessed May 21, 2013).

Appendix : Unedited letter from Josiah Sawyer Brown

I write you in behalf of the Indians in this section of Alaska, hoping you may be able to present their case to some board, conference or other body, who will be able and willing to assist these poor creatures in their endeavors to discern the high road to Christianity, where they may walk according to the precepts of that good saviour of whom they have learned, but recently. About last June, a party of Indians from Fort Simpson B.C. arrived at Wrangel and instituted a series of meetings for divine worship. The Stickeens and other tribes here really knew nothing of Christianity. They soon became interested in the proceedings of their Christian visitors, inquired closely, and a few decided to try the new life of which they were told, the few have become an hundred, and the multitude are asking for a teacher, for some one to devote time wholly to expounding the word to them which they now see as a faint glimmer from that grander light which they feel to be beyond. The Rev. Mr. [Thomas] Crosby of Fort Simpson came here last fall, and did noble work for a few days, but his own mission demanded his presence, and he could only leave two of the young men (Indians) of his church to continue the work. It has been manfully carried on during the winter and could you, gentlemen, be present during some of their services, I know your hearts would go out to them, when you heard the earnestness of their prayers, and saw the gigantic struggle between the predjudices of their tribal teachings since their creation. And this new doctrine of a glorious life beyond the grave, to be had through the mediation of Jesus Christ. They are poor, financially and their country is unfitted for anything like agriculture. The waters are rich in fish, the land prolific in timber, and game. Since the advent of traders and miners in large numbers among them lewdness and debauchery have held high carnival, and the rapid decimation of their numbers is being the result. They have been promised assistance in school and church, by General [O. O.] Howard and other military commanders, for the past two or three years, and no promise has been fulfilled up to this time. If a mission were established at Wrangel, for school and church purposes there would no doubt be an Indian population of over a thousand souls locate within reach of it benefits. And one whole souled energetic worker here could sow seed that would bear fruit from British Columbia to Behrings Straits. These Indians have patriotic ideas, have been proud to call themselves "Boston Siwashes," and glory in the possession of a "Star Spangled Banner," but they feel bad when they learn how much better off, the Indians in British Columbia are than themselves. Schools and churches abound, and nearly all the Indians in B.C. can read and write to some extent, and consequently appear to better advantage and do business in more of a "smart" way than their neighbors in Alaska. This fact seems to speak much for the Christian people of Canada, and little for those of our own Glorious Republic who yearly send so much money to foreign countries to convert the heathen, while they allow our own countrymen who certainly are just as a deserving, to go down, down to the lowest hell for aught they seem to care. I am not a Christian according to the orthodox definition of the word, belong to no church or sect, but am making this appeal for these poor unfortunates, from

the dictates of a heart that I trust may never be deaf to the cry for help from the heathen. And I ask you, can not you make it one of your aims to foster and build up a mission in Alaska. If not can not you place the matter before somebody that will? A man is needed to take the field, who is willing to work for the masters sake. Money is needed, to some extent, to maintain that man in his labors. A large amount and a number of men could be employed advantageously. A small sum and one whole man can do much, and pave the way for doing much more. Will you not endeavor to aid in sending out a Shepherd, who may reclaim a mighty flock from the error of their ways. And gather them to that true fold, the master of which said "Feed my sheep." The doctrines taught thus far, have been those of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. I hope this letter may be considered in all charity, blemishes excluded. And now with faith in justness of the cause for which I so feebly plead, I trust the matter in your hands, trusting that a brighter day may soon dawn for the poor benighted natives of Alaska [sic].